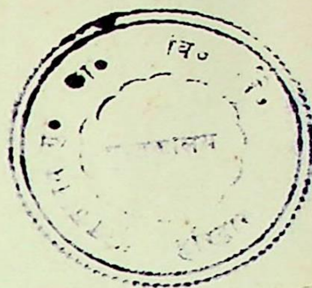
RAJPUT PAINTING

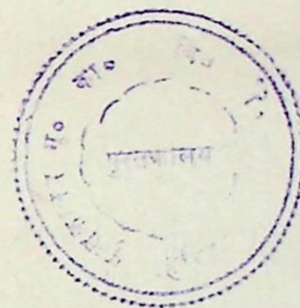
VOLUME I



ANANDA COOMARASWAMY



RAJPUT PAINTING





ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

The Author Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy was born in Kent (England) in 1877. He lost his father when he was just two years old. He obtained B.Sc. in Botany and Geology from Wycliff College, England. He came to Ceylon in 1903 as the Director of Mineralogical Survey and got Doctorate while working there.

He founded the Ceylon Social Reforms Society and edited the Ceylon National Review. He extended his tours to India to living in an era of new understanding. His Art collections were presented to the Boston Museum in 1917 whereafter he was invited to be 'the keeper of the Indian Section' where he continued till his death in 1947.

He possessed a scientific turn of mind and a rare insight. His opinions on Indian Art History have been basically accepted in spite of the inadequacy of the evidence then available. A study of his work is essential even today for an insight into the background of Indian Art.

Rajput Art, in its peculiar forms, is the product of a special inspiration, reflecting the self-control and sweet serenity of Indian life and the aristocratic organization of Indian Society. In the fineness of colour, brilliancy of brush-work, display of passions and the exhibit of emotions this art stands incomparable.

Rajput painting (1916) by A. K. Coomaraswamy is a pioneer work on Rajput Art pertaining to Hindu painting of Rajputana and the Punjab Himalayas, from 1300 to 1900 A.D. It presents a clear picture of Indian people, their manners, customs, costumes, and their peculiar traits.

This masterly study, indispensable for students of miniature painting has remained long out of print and there has been a persistent demand for its early reprint. The present facsimile reprint, therefore, fulfils the long felt needs of the reader.

Though published in 1916 this book has not become outmoded, still to acquaint the reader with the progress made during the period since its inception. A foreword by Karl J. Khandalavala has been appended. The foreword offers a sort of reunion with regard to certain classifications of Schools and accurate dating in this field of study and will be welcomed by the reader.



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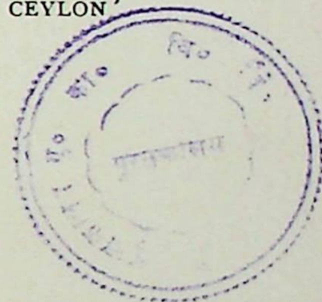
RAJPUT PAINTING

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE HINDU PAINTINGS OF
RAJASTHAN AND THE PANJAB HIMALAYAS
FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
DESCRIBED IN THEIR RELATION TO CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT
WITH TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

BY

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

D.SC. LONDON; FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON; HON. CORRESPONDENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SURVEY OF INDIA; AUTHOR OF 'MEDIAEVAL SINHALESE ART'
'INDIAN DRAWINGS' AND 'THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA AND CEYLON'



FOREWORD BY

KARL J. KHANDALAVALA
Bar-at-Law
CHAIRMAN, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY

VOLUME I. TEXT

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
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FOREWORD

Though much useful research has been done in the realm of Indian miniature painting since the days of that incomparable critic of Indian art, Ananda Coomaraswamy, his pioneering efforts were the foundation on which others have built. As most of his works have long been out of print and second-hand copies are rare to come by, it is in the fitness of things that his first notable exposition of Indian miniature painting, published in 1916 in two sumptuous volumes under the title of *Rajput Painting*, should be made available again in the form of a reprint. To revise a work of such exceptional insight into the Indian mind, with its sensitive exposition of the Indian approach to aesthetics, would be · to destroy it. The enterprising publishers Messrs Motilal Banarsidass and the present editor were both in complete agreement that neither Coomaraswamy's text nor his notes on the miniatures should be altered but that a separate Foreword with revised notes, to indicate the progress made in the study of Rajput painting, should be included. If Coomaraswamy made mistakes they are those of a pioneer and if he failed to achieve an elaborate classification of schools and sub-schools, such as we have today, it was largely due to the unavailability of the sources which writers on Indian miniatures are now fortunate to possess.

Momentous changes in the political, social and economic structure of this country since 1947 led to an unprecedented flow, from time to time, of Indian miniatures into the art markets of Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Jaipur, Udaipur, Hyderabad and Banaras. Indian miniature painting had never been an art of the people for we know that its patronage and possession was by far and large, though with certain notable exceptions, the preserve of the Hindu feudal aristocracy, Muslim Sultāns and their governors and the Mughal court and its grandees. Moreover,. with the passage of time and the inculcation of new ideas and new tastes, mostly western, large collections of paintings in the *pothikhānās* (store rooms for manuscripts and pictures) of princes and nobles usually lay neglected and sometimes even unknown.

The passing of princely power and pomp in India, occasioned by a new political credo, led aristocratic possessors of collections to part with them. The result was that many of the princely collections, as well as those of lesser chieftains, are now dispersed. When this change came about it was a veritable revelation as to the vast quantities of paintings, particularly of the 18th and 19th centuries, which lay in these collections mostly in the Rājput states of Rājasthān, Central India and the Puñjāb Hills. The reason for this large output will be dealt with later. The dispersal of these paintings, by purchase, into Indian and foreign museums and into Indian and foreign private collections has resulted in a great deal of new light being thrown on the development of Rājput painting and has enabled its study on a more illuminating basis than was ever available to Coomaraswamy during his period of activity in this field. But his interpretation of Rājput painting, despite certain debatable and even misconceived viewpoints, has yet to be bettered. He possessed the remarkable gift of saying more effectively in a few simple lines what many others sought to express in involved dissertations lacking that clarity and precision of language and that economy of words which are so characteristic of his writing on Indian painting and sculpture.

There was a time when an Indian miniature was associated solely with the Mughal School of painting. Perhaps this was understandable in a hybrid cultural setting into which aesthetic appreciation had drifted in India in the second half of the 19th century. But all the blame cannot be laid at the door of British domination. A noticeable indifference to our past had grown up in our own standards of appreciation indicating not only the effects of a Victorian veneer

but a loosening of the very roots that had sustained an Indian way of life and thought for centuries. The need of the hour was a cultural renaissance in India and in the sphere of Indian art Ananda Coomaraswamy became its most distinguished torch-bearer. His *Rajput Painting* unveiled a forgotten world of beauty which had been created in a forgotten span of time. To admire Rajput painting was not enough. No significant art has ever been created in a vacuum. It is the outcome of a cultural synthesis, contemporary with its production, and is the manifestation of the sum total of emotions in which religious beliefs, human and divine love and secular aspirations have all played their part.

Coomaraswamy regarded Rājput painting as the Hindū painting of Rājputānā and the Puñjāb Himālayas and assigned to it a period beginning from 1500 A.D. to the middle of the 19th century. He employed the term 'Rājput' because all the work was produced under the patronage of Rājput princes. His object was to distinguish it from Mughal painting. The distinction was necessary at the time he wrote, even as it is today, but it would be erroneous to think that these two streams of aesthetic expression pursued their courses in complete isolation. Coomaraswamy was only partially correct when he said that there could scarcely exist two contemporary schools more diverse in temper. He stated that Mughal art is at home in the portfolios of princely connoisseurs but Hindū paintings have stepped from the walls of shrines and palaces and public buildings. But he overlooked the fact that Rājput painting was equally at home in the portfolios of princely patrons and that both in its initial and later development it owed much to Mughal painting. It is not to contradict Coomaraswamy's views, but only to emphasize a stark historical reality, that we are constrained to point out that the development of both Rājasthānī and Pahāṛī painting, in the manner and form in which it took shape, would not have been possible of achievement without the existence and widespread influence of the Mughal school. What other form it may have taken we cannot say and we need not speculate thereon.

The object of the present Foreword is not to analyze Coomaraswamy's viewpoints, many of which are basically correct and hold good even to this day, but to narrate briefly the development of Rājput painting from its discernible origins in the light of more recent discovery and research. Though we are aware of a splendid tradition of wall painting in India right from the 1st century B.C. in Caves 9 and 10 at Ajantā and of painting in other forms such as on banners, wooden boards, cloth and shields, we scan in vain for survivals or even references which would indicate an early art of book illustration[1] or portfolio pictures. With regard to the existence of such illustrations it may be said that the passage of time has been a devastating factor, but literary references are equally silent. It is not till the late 10th century that we find an illustrated Buddhist text on palm leaves[2] and its Jain counterpart in the second half of the 11th century.[3] Thereafter, however, we can trace the development of both Buddhist and Jain manuscript illustration, particularly of the latter for several centuries. The areas in which Jain manuscript illustration flourished are the present states of Gujarāt and Rājasthān but since the main output was from ancient Gujarāt, which had political ascendency over Saurāshṭra and also over parts of Rājasthān, this style of manuscript illustration is often referred to as the Gujarātī School. The terminology 'Western Indian Painting' which is also employed by some writers is less suitable. In its early phases in the first half of the twelfth century we notice at times a lingering Ajantā tradition in the painted wooden manuscript-covers which form a part of the great treasure of illustrated manuscripts belonging to the Jain bhaṇḍār (monastic library) at Jaisalmer. But this did not continue for long. A more hieratic and formal style began to dominate the production of illustrations to Jain canonical works and continued to do so till at least the 16th century and even thereafter. This style is so well-known and so much has now been written about it[4] that it is not necessary to deal with

1. In Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita* the presents given by Bhāskarvarman to Harṣa included wooden boards and brushes. But this does not seem to be a reference to painted book covers but rather to prepared wooden surfaces for being painted upon.
2. The illustrated *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, dated in the year 6 of the Pāla ruler Mahipāla I which would be *circa* 994 A.D.
3. A Jain palm leaf manuscript dated 1060 A.D. in the Jaisalmer Bhaṇḍār.
4. The principal books are as follows. There are also several articles by various writers.
   Sarabhai Nawab, *Jaina Chitra Kalpadruma* (Gujarati), Ahmedabad, 1936.

it at any length herein. It suffices to say that its marionette-like figures and facial types with sharp projecting noses, pointed double chins and oversize eyes may well have been derived, at least to some extent, from the ancient folk art of puppetry which is still a living tradition in Rājasthān. Vivid monochrome backgrounds in red and blue predominate while the excessive use of gold, so prominent in later manuscripts in what is known as the 'opulent period', was probably influenced by Persian book illustrations though lacking their restraint and their artistry in its use. That Persian book illustrations, carpets, pottery and textiles were imported into Sultanate Gujarāt is well-known and the most famous of all Jain illustrated manuscripts namely the *Kalpa-sūtra-Kālakāchārya Kathā* of the Devasanopaḍa Bhaṇḍār in Ahmedabad[5] of *circa* 1475 A.D. has border decoration unmistakably influenced by Timurid painting while in its *Kālakāchārya* section, it seems that contemporary male costumes of the Sultanate court make their appearance. So also another somewhat similar manuscript was illustrated at Patan in A.D. 1501 and is now in a Bhaṇḍār in Jamnagar.[6] But in the main the production continued in its accustomed hieratic and stylized manner. But what of non-Jain painting? The great Vaiṣṇava renaissance, which Coomaraswamy has dealt with so eloquently in his text, resulted in works such as the *Gīta Govinda*[7] and the *Bālagopālastuti*[8] being illustrated as well as erotic poems such as the *Vasanta Vilāsa*.[9] But the pictorial representation closely followed the Gujarātī School with all its clichés and mannerisms. Nevertheless, it is evident that the horizon was broadening, howsoever slowly, both in subject-matter and receptivity to new pictorial ideas.

Though we have no remains of wall painting in Gujarāt or Rājasthān prior to the 17th century there is an interesting reference[10] to Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-1296 A.D.) having observed fine paintings on the walls of the palace in the fortified city of Jhain in Rājasthān which he subdued. Moreover, the walls of the palace shone, it is said, like mirrors. The latter observation indicates that the art of polished wall surfaces, known as *araish*, is of ancient lineage. Wall paintings in Rājasthānī palaces and *havelis* (residences) in the 18th and 19th centuries were usually done on such polished surfaces, while even unpainted walls were given this high polish to beautify them. Though it is not possible to be certain about the nature of the wall paintings in the palace at Jhain in the 13th century the likelihood is that they were somewhat similar in style to the illustrations of the Jain manuscripts though different in subject-matter.

That the Gujarātī style spread beyond the borders of Gujarāt and Rājasthān is evident from the existence of illustrated Jain texts which we know were painted at Mandu,[11] Yoginīpura (Delhi), and Jaunpur[12] though evidencing certain stylistic characteristics of their own.

Sarabhai Nawab *The Oldest Rajasthani Paintings from Jain Bhandars*, Ahmedabad, 1959
Masterpieces of the Kalpasūtra Painting (Gujarati), Ahmedabad, 1956.
The Collection of Kālaka Stories, Part I, Ahmedabad, 1958.
Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949.
W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, Washington, 1933.
A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasutra as Executed in the Early Western Indian Style, Washington, 1934.
Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttaradhyayana Sutra, New Haven, 1941.
A. Coomaraswamy, "Jain Painting", *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*.
Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—A Reappraisal*, Bombay, 1969.

5. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *ibid.*, where it is dealt with in considerable detail.
6. Moti Chandra and U.P. Shah, "New Documents of Jain Painting", *Sri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1968 and *New Documents of Jaina Painting, Bombay*, 1975.
7. M.R. Majumdar, "A 15th Century Gita Govinda MS. with Gujarati Paintings", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Volume VI, Pt. VI, May, 1938, pp. 33-61.
8. W. Norman Brown, "Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings from Western India", *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, pp. 167-206.
9. W. Norman Brown, *The Vasanta Vilasa*, Connecticut, 1962.
10. N.B. Ray, "Career of Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji", *New Indian Antiquary*, Nov. 1939, p. 532.
11. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "A Consideration of an Illustrated MS. of Maṇḍapadurga (Mandu), dated 1439, A.D.", *Lalit, Kalā* No. 6, October 1959, pp. 8-29.
12. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated Kalpasūtra Painted at Jaunpur in A.D. 1465", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 12, October 1963, pp. 9-15.

In the second half of the 15th century a new development in painting becomes noticeable in northern India in the belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur, which was under the rule of the Lodī Sultāns, and it continued into the 16th century. Though the influence of the Gujarātī style remains evident, significant changes can be observed. The old cliché of the farther projecting eye, so characteristic of the Jain illustrated manuscripts, was increasingly avoided, contemporary costumes were favoured, vignettes from daily life were introduced whenever the text to be illustrated afforded the opportunity, the restricted palette of Jain painting now gave way to more variegated colour combinations, landscape elements frequently made their appearance and a greater emphasis on the essentials of a narrative art began to manifest itself. Hitherto only Jain manuscripts had for the most part been illustrated but now even Muslim bibliophiles who could not for one reason or another secure imported manuscripts of Persian literary texts, illustrated by the much preferred Persian artists, began to evince an interest in having Persian texts prepared in India and illustrated by local painters. Thus we have illustrated examples[13] of the *Hamza Nāmah*, *Sikandar Nāmah*, and the *Shāh Nāmah* in which we find an admixture of Indian and Persian elements. As a counterpart to this development we find a growing interest being evinced in the production of illustrated versions of Indian non-religious texts[14] such as Bilhaṇa's *Chaurapañchāśikā*, the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gīta Govinda*, the *Rāgamālā* and Avadhi romances namely the *Laur-Chandā*, *Maina Sat* and Kutban's *Mṛigāvat*. The Digambara Jain religious epic the *Mahā Purāṇa*[15] was also illustrated in this new manner of painting along with that great repository of the Krishna legend the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[16] The discovery of most of these above-mentioned illustrated texts is of comparatively recent origin. That they all form a stylistic group, despite natural variations *inter se*, is now recognized as also the fact that though basically they stem from the Gujarātī School of Jain painting, they possess a new and fresher approach and distinctive features of their own in the manifestation of their pictorial ideas. Due to the fact that the male figures in these illustrations commonly wear a turban with a *kulāh* (protruding cap) these illustrated manuscripts have frequently been referred to as belonging to the *kulāhdār* group. Their provenance has been the subject of considerable debate though indications were not wanting that they belong to the northern belt from Delhi to Jaunpur. The discovery of the *Mahā Purāṇa* painted in 1540 A.D. at Palam near Delhi lent support to these indications. However, some writers ascribed these manuscripts notably the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Gīta Govinda* and the *Rāgamālā* to Mewar in Rājasthān, while Mandu in Central India was preferred by one or two critics as the provenance of at least some of them. Even the period of these manuscripts was a matter on which fairly wide differences of opinion existed ranging from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1575. Those who ascribe some of these manuscripts to Mewar in Rājasthān not unnaturally believe that they represent the earliest known examples of Rājasthānī miniature painting. It has been necessary to deal with this matter at some length for had this last mentioned viewpoint been correct it would undoubtedly have been of importance in considering the history and development of Rājasthānī miniature art. But several factors including the discovery of a key manuscript[17] namely the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of the Asiatic Society of Bombay dated 1516 A.D. and painted at Kachchhauvā in the Agra area in the reign of the cultured Sultān Sikander Lodī (1489-1517 A D.) can now leave hardly any doubt that the manuscripts of the *kulāhdār* group are neither of Mewar nor Mandu origin but are all characteristic products of what must now be recognized as the Lodī School of painting which flourished in the northern belt from Delhi to Jaunpur from the second half of the 15th century right upto about 1575 A.D. There is also good reason to think that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* like the *Mahā Purāṇa* was painted at Palam, while the *Mṛigāvat* almost certainly belongs to the Jaunpur area. It can now moreover be regarded as firmly

13. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—A Reappraisal*, Bombay, 1969.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *An Illustrated Āraṇyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Bombay, 1974.

established that the *kulāhdār* turban was a Lodī headgear used by both Muslims and Hindūs in the areas under Lodī domination. It was never in vogue in Rājasthān. Though the Lodīs ceased to rule after their defeat by the Mughal invader Bābur in 1526 A.D. the Lodī style of painting continued to be the norm till the formation of the Emperor Akbar's great atelier, probably nearabout 1562 A.D., brought about the far-reaching changes which in fact paved the way for the creation and growth of what Coomaraswamy has called Rājput painting. Lodī painting according to the available evidence was not a court art. Its patrons were apparently Hindū and Muslim bibliophiles, cultured gentry with literary leanings, and religious minded merchants amongst others. It was thus a bourgeois art in the main though there is one elegant manuscript[18] of the *Laur-Chandā* romance in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, with marked Persian influence, which may possibly be the work of an artist under royal or at least aristocratic patronage. Though the Lodī School flourished in the northern belt between Delhi and Jaunpur it would not be surprising if the style had also spread to centres such as Gwalior and may be even to Rājasthān though we have no reliable evidence of this having happened. Some fragmentary remains in Rājā Mānsingh's fort-palace at Gwalior, built prior to 1516 A.D., do suggest types somewhat like those seen in the illustrations of the *kulāhdār* group, but the remains in what is known as Baman Shāh's palace at Chitor in Mewar, which could not be later than 1568 A.D., are far too disintegrated for any conclusion to be arrived at therefrom. But the fact that Lodī painting did have some influence on Rājasthānī painting during its formative period seems undeniable. It is true that the main influence in this formative period was of the Mughal School, but the Lodī School also played its part in bringing about a fusion of styles which emerged as early Rājasthānī painting.

The Mughal emperor Bābur (1526-1530 A.D.) had no time to form an atelier of artists, even if he had been minded to do so, while his successor Humāyun (1530-1556 A.D.) was in exile from 1540 A.D. till a year before his death when he regained his kingdom. We know from Bayazid Biyat's *Tadhkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar* that Humāyun had several Persian artists in his employ at his court at Kabul and that at least two of them Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd-us Samad accompanied him to India. They later became the masters of the great atelier formed by Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) in which Indian artists drawn from many parts of India worked under the guidance of their Persian mentors. In 1567 A.D. was commenced the grand undertaking of illustrating the *Hamzā Nāmah* story with its weird mixture of legends, magical feats, miraculous happenings and adventures and battles of long age. The project which covered fourteen hundred large sized paintings on cloth was not completed till 1582 A.D. In 1574 A.D. Mir Sayyid Ali left for Mecca not to return and Abd-us Samad became the head of the atelier. Though other works were also illustrated during this period it is really the *Hamzā Nāmah* project which was the crucible in which the destiny of Indian miniature painting was fashioned. It is not difficult to visualize that every Indian artist who was being trained in Akbar's atelier could not have remained in permanent employ therein. Some may not have been successful enough, while others for a variety of reasons may have had to return to their homes or take employment elsewhere at provincial courts. But in their sojourn, brief or long, in the training ground of the Imperial atelier they had begun to acquire a new concept of the art of painting and new standards of technical accomplishment. These they naturally imparted to their pupils and disciples after they had ceased to be in the service of the Emperor. And thus there grew up a new class of painters who even though they were not equipped to attain the standards of the Imperial Mughal studios began to exercise a very significant influence on miniature painting in India as it existed before the formation and growth of Akbar's atelier. It is to this circumstance that we have to attribute the beginnings of Rajput painting but without underestimating the entire cultural and religious background of Hindu India which enabled Rajput painting to develop its own individuality as Coomaraswamy has been at pains to stress and rightly so. In the beginning the new outlook manifested its influence both on the Gujarātī School and the Lodī School by the introduction of Mughal costumes which had come into vogue in many parts of India which were under the Emperor Akbar's sovereignty and by an improved quality in draughtsmanship and colouring.

18. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—A Reappraisal*, Bombay, 1969.

The influence of the Mughal court in the modes and manner of living of the Rājput chiefs, was to some extent due to marriages between Rājput princesses and the Emperors Akbar and Jahāngir as also to the constant attendance of some Rājput rulers at the Mughal court and their appointments to high offices in the administration and high commands in the Mughal army. But basically the culture and tastes of the Rājput rulers were not affected and this accounts for the distinctive features of Rājput painting which is never a mere imitation of the Mughal School. Even at Bikanir where some of the work is closely akin to that of the Mughal School a difference makes its presence felt.

Gradually the influence of the Mughal School began to increase particularly with the development of what has been called the Popular Mughal School which was really an extension of Mughal painting in not so exalted a manner as the court production and without attaining its technical perfections. This Popular Mughal School did much to diffuse the practice and concepts of Mughal painting amongst the many who would never have access to the charmed court circles. It also had a profound influence on the development of Rājasthānī painting. This Popular Mughal School continued into the reigns of Jahāngir (1605-1628 A.D.) and Shāh Jahān (1628-1658 A.D.) and even thereafter. In fact Mughal painting at every changing phase of its development or decline reacted on the contemporary production of the Rājput Schools.

By 1583 A.D. we begin to note the influence of the Mughal School on Gujarātī painting in a fine *Saṅgrhaṇī Sūtra* painted at Matar in Gujarāt and now in the L.D. Institute at Ahmedabad.[19] This trend continued thereafter. In Rājasthān at Chawand, the temporary capital of the brave Rāṇā Pratāp of Mewar (1572-1597 A.D.) who defied the Mughal armies, a Muslim painter Nisār-ud din appears to have been commissioned to paint a *Rāgamālā* series in 1606 A.D. during the reign of Amar Singh I (1597-1620 A.D.). It is evident that this artist had not only worked in the Lodī tradition but had also been influenced by the Mughal School. His presence at Chawand would indicate that both Hindū and Muslim artists who had adopted the new manner of painting which was coming into vogue were seeking employment wherever there were patrons who required manuscripts to be illustrated or a series of paintings such as the *Rāgamālā* to be produced. And presumably their services were being increasingly availed of because patrons also had begun to favour a change from stereotyped traditions and mannerisms which had long prevailed in Gujarāt and Rājasthān. The main schools of Rājasthānī painting in the 17th and 18th centuries are to be found in the states of Mewār, Mārwār, Bundi, Kotah, Bikanir, Sirohi, Jaisalmer, in the Kacchwaha capital of Amber and later in Jaipur, all in Rājasthān proper, and also in the adjoining province of Mālwā in the Rājput state of Narsingarh and no doubt in other Central Indian Rājput states as well, such as Raghogarh. In fact the output of the Mālwā idiom is quite prolific. The Rājput states of Bundelkhand also had active schools of painting in the 18th century. Maybe part of the Mālwā idiom output had its production centres in Bundelkhand as well.

We can do no more in the present Foreword than cast a glance at the development of these various Rajasthani schools. As a general rule it may be observed that the 17th century and the early 18th century represents the Golden Age of Rājasthānī painting and that thereafter there is a gradual decline though much interesting work was done. A brilliant exception to this observation is the Kisangarh School during the period *circa* 1737-1760 A.D. under the guiding influence of the poet-prince Sāvant Singh, who is otherwise famous in Hindi poetry as Nāgari Dās, and his chief painter Nihāl Chand. In Mewar from 1628 A.D. to about 1653 A.D. the dominant influence appears to have been that of a Muslim artist Sahebdin and his School.[20] That Sahebdin had been trained, for some time at least, in the Imperial atelier or under a court painter seems likely, for he had acquired considerable technical skill and his work shows the influence of Mughal painting. But he possessed an individuality of his own both with regard to his composition and colour sense and he gave Mewar painting a new direction. Extensive sets of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Rāmāyaṇa*,

19. Moti Chandra and U.P. Shah, "New Documents of Jain Painting", *Sri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1968.

20. Moti Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, Lalit Kalā, Delhi.
Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Marg*, Vol. IV No. 3, 1950, pp. 2-24, and 49-56, Bombay.

Rāgamālā, *Gita Govinda* and so forth were produced by this school and this practice of preparing extensive sets culminated in the following century when we find near about 1740 A.D. a *Mahābhārata* series with over three thousand paintings, though lacking the lustre and quality of the production of Sahebdin's time. Mewar painting seems to have influenced other Rājasthānī centres in a greater or lesser degree but nevertheless each state developed its own individual style. In Bundi we find a stress on lush foliage and trees and curling water alive with aquatic creatures. In other Bundi paintings the stress is on architecture and tiled walls and pavements. The female types with their small faces and rounded foreheads are quite distinctive. From about 1760 A.D. onwards, Bundi painting passed through a phase in which the influence of the late Mughal School is increasingly evident, including such clichés as the heavy shading of faces and the inclusion of themes favoured in Mughal painting such as the *Lailā-Majnu* romance, women visiting saints and so forth. To distinguish between the Bundi and Kotah schools is not always easy and definite ascriptions made by several writers should be viewed with caution. But Kotah in the late 18th and early 19th century produced a large number of hunting scenes possessing a piquant flavour of their own which reminds one of the work of Rousseau Douanier. In Bundi and Kotah there was a vogue for drawing elephants and elephant fights and some of these studies are immensely powerful. Each school of Rājasthānī painting developed its own facial types, which are distinguishable, and its own colour harmonies which give to each school a distinctive palette. Bikanir closely followed Mughal painting and it is of interest to note that its leading artists were for the most part all Muslims. Sirohi absorbed Mewar influence but favoured very rich and warm colouring. Marwar painting in its earlier phases is quite effective, there being an important *Rāgamālā* set painted in Pali in 1624 A.D.,[21] but later it tends to develop peculiarly stylized female types and rarely achieves real pictorial merit though it can on occasion possess a naive charm. The Mālwā idiom absorbed various influences. A *Rasikapriyā* series of 1634 A.D. shows the distinct influence of the Lodī School mixed with that of Mughal painting, while a *Rāgamālā* set of 1680 A.D. painted at Narsingarh[22] has even some clichés adopted from a phase of Sultanate painting at the Mandu court round about 1500 A.D. The Mālwā school is often partial to black skies while tree-forms are usually narrow and oblong unlike the broader forms of the Mewar and Marwar schools.

In the 18th century though the illustration of manuscripts continued to be in favour at Rājput courts a pronounced emphasis began to be laid on court artists chronicling the pastimes, pursuits and amusements of the ruler himself and making numerous portraits as well as group studies of the ruler with his entourage in his court, or out hunting or on an expedition or listening to music or enjoying a nautch party. This trend continued into the 19th century. There can be no doubt that the idea was derived from the court painting of the Mughals and the greater the self importance of the ruler the more numerous are such studies and portraits done at his court.

Though in the beginning it seems that ateliers were established only in the principal Rājasthānī states the vogue for possessing paintings, particularly of the court chronicle type, grew so widespread that almost every Thakkar (feudal baron) had a few artists in residence in his *Thikānā* (feudal estate). We know of this kind of *Thikānā* painting in various lesser states and feudal courts notably those of Ghanerao, Deogarh, Junia, Savar, Uniara, Pali, Malpura, Shahpura, Badnor, Devalia-Pratapgarh and several others. The vast volume of this *Thikānā* painting has not yet been studied adequately. The work at Savar was often of a high order[23] and uncoloured backgrounds were common. Some research has been done on *Thikānā* painting in Deogarh[24] and Ghanerao but there remains much of interest to investigate more fully.

21. Sangram Singh, "An Early *Rāgamālā* MS. from Pali (Marwar School) Dated 1623 A.D.", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 7, 1969, pp. 76-81.
22. Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan," *Marg*, Vol. IV No. 3.
23. Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra, Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, Delhi, 1960, pl. F.
24. S.K. Andhare, "Painting from the Ṭhikānā of Deogarh", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, No. 10, 1967, 43-53.

The development of Pāhāṛī painting which is the name by which the painting of the Rājput Hill States of the Puñjāb is known appears to be a later manifestation. It first makes its appearance in what Coomaraswamy called the Jammu School but that nomenclature is obsolete and it is now more correctly referred to as Basohli painting. This new nomenclature has been dictated by the circumstance that the earliest dated material available in this style is a *Rasamañjarī*[25] painted by an artist named Devīdāsa of Nurpur origin at the court of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl of Basohli (1678-1695 A.D.). Moreover, quite a number of other paintings in this style have been acquired by dealers from sources in Basohli itself and also from the old capital of this state which was situated at the now almost deserted site of Ballaur. A number of fine paintings in this style came from the family of the royal physicians of the Basohli Rājās and were it seems gifts to them indicating a flourishing atelier at Basohli from the time of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl. But the style was not confined to Basohli and appears to have been the common heritage of the Hill States in the late 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. It is found in Chamba, in Nurpur, in Guler, in Kulu probably after 1720 A.D. and in Mankot where also it is a later development. In all these states it appears in slightly varying idioms. Its influence can also be seen in work done at Bilaspur and Mandi. It is still not clear as to how this remarkably effective style with its brilliant hot colouring, glowing monochrome backgrounds, passionate facial types, which have at times an almost savage intensity, and its decorative, stylized tree forms came to be developed in the atelier of Kirpal Paḷ. Several theories are prevalent but none can be regarded as established. It has been suggested that it was the outcome from a somewhat primitive style of painting that had long existed in the Hill States along with the art of wood carving, but the evidence is lacking. It is interesting to note that Pahāṛī artists often came from the carpenter class known as *tarkhans*. Some writers have suggested the influence of Mewar painting, while the possibility of mannerisms adopted from earlier Nepalese banner painting, particularly the stylized tree forms, has also been mooted. There may be a modicum of truth in all these theories but one thing is evident namely that Mughal painting of the later Aurangzeb period also exerted some influence on the formation of this style at least as far as the depiction of figures costumed in the Mughal manner is concerned, though facial types differ. With the decline of patronage to painters during the rule of the austere and bigoted emperor Aurangzeb there appears to have been a migration of lesser artists, who could not obtain work at the imperial capital cities, to many provincial centres and a few may have found their way to some of the Hill States. The Hill Rājās through their contacts with the Mughal court had already adopted Mughal costumes while a mixed Rājput-Mughal style of architecture had also gradually come into vogue as typified by the old palace at Basohli, now a crumbling ruin. But the formation of the Basohli style cannot satisfactorily be accounted for by any single factor and was probably the result of a combination of circumstances. That some artists from Rājasthān may have gone to one or more of the Hill courts is possible because the sculptures of the Bas Dev temple at Nurpur of the early 17th century would suggest that they are the work of artisans brought from Rājasthān. If sculptors went from Rājasthān to accomplish the projects of Hill Rājās the possibility of Rājasthānī artists also having taken employment at these Hill courts must also be countenanced. It is pertinent to note that though patronage of painting at this stage was largely that of the Hill Rājās, we have an instance of a devout lady, no doubt of high estate, who was herself a poetess, having a splendid *Gīta Govinda* series illustrated for her in the year A.D. 1730. This lady apparently penned her compositions under the nom-de-plume' Māṇaku' and an inscription on a painting of this famous *Gīta Govinda* series mentions her name and patronage. Unfortunately this Sanskrit inscription has been misread by some writers who have assumed that the name Māṇaku refers to the painter of this series and on this basis have arrived at several erroneous conclusions. The name Māṇaku, however, can be used for both males and females. The series is a particularly fine one and marks an important stage in the development of the Basohli School after the *Rasamañjarī* set of 1694 A.D.

25. Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1958, where the *Rasamañjarī* and all the schools of Pahari painting are discussed. See also W..G Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, London 1973.

A momentous change occurred in history of Pahāṛī painting near about 1740 A.D. after the devastation caused by the Persian invader Nādir Shāh in Northern India in 1739 A.D. A number of bankers, merchants and artisans left the plains and sought the safety of the Hill states as permanent residents. Amongst them it seems some artists also migrated to Hill states. These artists had been trained in the Mughal School of the Muhammad Shāh period (1719-1748 A.D.) and their manner of painting had a marked effect on the hitherto prevalent Basohli idiom which though it tended to absorb certain refinements, at the expense of its vitality, slowly began to go out of fashion as the new style rapidly gained in popularity. But the environment of the Hills quickly had its effect on the artists who had migrated to the Hill courts and there grew up a style of painting which, though based on the later Mughal School, possessed qualities which the former lacked and is best referred to as the Pre-Kāngrā *kalam* (school) because the well-known Kangra *kalam*, to be dealt with hereafter, really developed out of this Pre-Kangra style. Though the development of the Pre-Kangra *kalam* is intimately connected with the two sons, Mānak and Nainsukh, of an artist known as Pandit Seu, there can be no doubt that several other artists were also working in this style in the Hill states after 1740 A.D. The family of Pandit Seu, who were Kashmir Brāhmins, must have originally migrated from Kashmir and it is evident that Pandit Seu himself was an artist well trained in the Mughal School of the Muhammad Shāh period though no inscribed work by him is so far known. Accordingly he appears to have learnt and practised his art in one of the capital cities of the plains such as Delhi, Lahore or Lucknow. Either he or one of his ancestors had at some period of time migrated to the Hills and settled in Guler. Members of the family apparently, from time to time, married hill women of lower caste and gradually came down in the social scale. Pandit Seu seems to have returned to the Hills after the holocaust of 1739 A.D. In keeping with the traditions which bind all artisan families, Pandit Seu had trained his two sons to paint in the manner of the 18th century Mughal School in which he himself had been brought up. The elder son Mānak took service with Rājā Govardhan Chand of Guler (1743-1773 A.D.) who was a generous patron of artists and much of the finest work done at the Guler court during Govardhan Chand's reign can be attributed to him. The younger son Nainsukh, however, became a court painter of a prince named Balwant Singh who has been regarded as the youngest brother of Mahārāja Ranjit Dev of Jammu. Balwant Singh obviously delighted in having a pictorial chronicle prepared of various facets of his daily life. Nainsukh, like his brother, was also a skilled painter and many of the Balwant Singh group of paintings have been attributed to him. The importance of the family of Pandit Seu in the development of Pahāṛī art, subsequent to 1740 A.D., did not end with Mānak and Nainsukh. Their sons also became well-known painters working in the Kangra *kalam* at the courts of Guler, Chamba and Kangra. In fact one of the sons of Mānak, named Khushála, is stated to have been the favourite painter of the great Sansār Chand (1775-1823 A.D.) and two of the sons of Nainsukh namely Nikkā and Rañjhā worked at the court of Rāj Singh of Chamba (1764-1794 A.D.). The Pre-Kangra style flourished from *circa* 1740 A.D. to about 1770 A.D. and from it was evolved the Kangra *kalam* which is really a generic name for the style which prevailed in the Hill States from about *circa* 1770 onwards. This nomenclature is no doubt due to the fact that Sansār Chand of Kangra who had made himselt the paramount chief of the Hill States maintained an extensive atelier and had leading artists working therein. The characteristic female types of the Kangra *kalam* are unmistakable and have not a little to do with its charm and elegance. Painting flourished in almost all the Hill States during the last quarter of the 18th and first quarter of the 19th century and even thereafter. Though the production of this period is known as the Kangra *kalam*, each state had its own idiom. Guler, Chamba, Garhwal and Kangra itself seem to have been the principal states where the Kangra *kalam* had an extensive vogue but almost every state, however small, and several Mians (nobles) seems to have had at least a painter or two in their employ, if not more. The aggrandisement of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh which resulted in the subjugation of Kangra and several other Hill States slowly but surely brought about a decline in the art of painting in the Hills. Some artists from the Hills sought service with Sikh chieftains in the plains and as a result we have what is known as the Sikh *kalam* a rather decadent form of art with however some interesting portraiture. But the heyday of Rajput painting was over.

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Plate XXIV	Pahāṛī. Guler School. *Circa* 1750 A.D. Sketch of a painting from the same series as Plate XXI. A number of sketches from this series are also in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
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Plate LIVB	Pahāṛī. Chamba School. 1780-1800 A.D.

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Plate LXXIIB	Pahāṛī. Kangra School. *Circa* 1800 A.D.
Plate LXXIIIA	Pahāṛī. Garhwal School. *Circa* 1800 A.D.
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Plate LXXIVA	Pahāṛī. Garhwal School. 1810-1820 A.D.
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KARL J. KHANDALAVALA
Bar-at-Law

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NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

THE system of transliteration is that approved by the International Oriental Congress of 1894. Familiar spellings, however, are retained in the case of Vishnu (*Viṣṇu*), Krishna (*Kṛṣṇa*) and a few other names. The following hints on pronunciation may be useful. The vowels generally are to be pronounced as in Italian. Note especially that *a* has the sound of *a* in *America*, *ā* the sound of *a* in *father*, *o* is always long, as in *note*, *e* is long (as *a* in *nave*) in Sanskrit and usually long in Hindī, while the vowel *ṛ* resembles *ri* or *ru*; *ai* has the sound of *i* in *bite*, *au* the sound of *ow* in *cow*. Every consonant is distinctly pronounced, not excluding *r*: *c* has the sound of *ch* in *church*, *ŋ* of *n* in *pink*, while *ś* and *ṣ* have nearly the sound of *sh* in *shut*: *ṛ* as a consonant (e.g. in *Pahāṛī*) is distinct from the vowel *ṛ*, and has a sound between English *r* and *d*, but may be read as an *r* if the proper sound cannot be reproduced. Aspirates are also distinctly heard: *ch*, for example, is sounded like *chh* in *church-house*, and *ṭh* like *th* in *ant-hill*. The accent falls on the first syllable or the third, rarely the second.

The inscriptions quoted from Rājput paintings are exactly reproduced, without emendation.

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INTRODUCTION

Rājput painting, the subject of this work, is the Hindū painting of Rājputāna and the Pañjāb Himālayas. Its period may be taken as from about the beginning of the 13th century A. D.—when the Rājputs, dispossessed of capital cities such as Delhi, where classic Indian art and literature was still preserved, began to adjust their life to changed political conditions—to the middle of the 19th century. The term Rājput is employed because all the works discussed have been produced under the patronage of Rājput princes; it conveniently summarizes the fact of broad distinction from Mughal; and is preferable to any sectarian name such as Hindū, because that would have too wide a geographical application. Rājput painting is the counterpart of the vernacular literature of Hindustān.

Rājput painting, needless to say, does not stand alone as the only school of Indian painting of its day. It is but one, though the most important, of several continuations and descendants of the old classic art of Buddhism and early Hinduism, adapted to changed demands; and at the same time it is to a considerable extent contemporary with a fresh and eclectic development, well known under the name of 'Indo-Persian', Mughal, or 'Indo-Taimuria' painting. The general relationship of all these schools will be most conveniently summarized in the accompanying table.

SCHOOLS OF INDIAN PAINTING FROM A. D. 1500 TO 1850

1500 1550 1600 1650 1700 1750 1800 1850

Hindū: RĀJPUT: Rājasthānī; Pahāṛī: Jammu, Kāŋgrā, Garhwāl; Sikh

Bengal and Orissa

DRAVIDIAN (Tanjore, Travancore, &c. Mysore? Vijayanagaram?)

Buddhist: NEPALESE (also Indian Tibet); SINHALESE (Kandy)

Jaina: (Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwāṛ, Śravaṇa Belgola)

Eclectic: MUGHAL (Lahore, Agra, Delhi); (Oudh and Patna)

Rājput art stands to the classic art of India in the same relation as the contemporary vernaculars of Hindustān stand to Sanskrit. We are well acquainted with classic Sanskrit literature, typically of the period A.D. 300 to 800; this literature was written in the spoken language of the courts, and of all literati and savants. Less exalted personages used the dialects of the home and of the provinces, called Prākrits, and we are acquainted with the nature of these Prākrits through the quotations given in the Sanskrit plays, and through the literature written wholly in Prākrit. We know also the plastic arts of the classic age in their most aristocratic and accomplished forms, for example, the sculptures of Elephanta and Elūra, and the brilliant paintings of Ajaṇṭā and Sīgiri. We do not know the contemporary folk or 'Prākrit' plastic art in the same way. However, there can be no doubt that such an art existed, as it has existed everywhere until destroyed by Industrialism. Folk-art of the present day is a tradition handed down directly from the past; in Rājput painting, just as in the vernacular poetry of Hindustān, it is this folk-art, fused with hieratic and classic literary tradition, that emerges as the culture of the whole race, equally shared by kings and peasants.

The great cycles of classic Sanskrit literature and *śāstrīya* plastic art had passed their zenith before the end of the 9th century. The vernaculars of Hindustān, particularly the various dialects of Hindī, with Pañjābī and Bengālī, began to develop from the secondary Prākrits about the 11th century.[1] This development was not merely an accidental change, but a movement of constructive evolution under the great spiritual impulse of the Paurāṇic renaissance,—the emergence of the ultimate phases of Indian religion in the cults of Vishnu and Śiva.[2] Another factor in the development of the vernaculars appears in the sense of national pride which inspired such bardic chronicles as the *Prithvīrāj Rāsāū* and the *Hammīr Rāsāū.* The greater part of the literature, however, and almost all of the plastic art has a directly religious inspiration.

Neglecting for the present the cult of Śiva, we may call attention to the fact that the development of the two great phases of popular Vaiṣṇavism—the cult of Rāma,[3] and the cult of Gopāla-Krishna [4]—takes place contemporaneously with that of the vernaculars, the Tertiary Prākrits; and the literature of these cults has remained until recently the dominant factor in the development of the languages and the essential theme of their poetry. The central inspiration of Rājput painting is also Vaiṣṇava. Vernacular poetry and painting, music and popular drama,[5] are the various expressions of a common inspiration.

To reconstruct the vernacular culture history of Hindustān is not yet easy. It is, however, a matter of moment for our study to determine its main outlines; and in doing this we shall find our best guide in the history of literature. The early Vaiṣṇava literature is still the work of Sanskrit writers (Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka): the supreme expression of its first movement appears in the immortal *Gītā Govinda* of Jayadeva (13th century). These are followed by the great teachers and vernacular poets of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. Rāmānanda belongs to the close of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century: his great disciple Kabīr flourished in the 15th century, and died in 1518. Vidyāpati, Umāpati, and Caṇḍi Dāsa lived through the first half of the 15th century. Vallabha, who established the cult of Śrī Nātha-jī (but wrote in Sanskrit) was born in A.D. 1479. The *Padumāvatī* of Malik Muḥammad was completed in A.D. 1540. The life of Caitanya extended from A.D. 1485 to 1533, and that of Tulasī Dāsa from A.D. 1532 to 1623. These are followed by critics and analysts, of whom the most authoritative and poetical are Keśava Dāsa (fl. A.D. 1580 to 1610), Bihārī Lāl (17th century), and Jasvant Siṇgh (d. A.D. 1815). Thus the classic period of the vernacular poetry—its age of Dante and Chaucer—falls within the limits of the 15th

[1] L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 33.

[2] Not, of course, the first appearance of these gods, but the substitution of the loving worship of some manifestation of Vishnu or of Śiva for the orthodox worship of these or other gods in their Vedic aspect and according to Vedic ritual.

[3] Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, &c.*, p. 47.

[4] Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 66. Nimbārka died 'about 1162'.

[5] 'It seems likely that the Indian drama was developed in connexion with the cult of Vishnu-Krishna'—(Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 347), referring, of course, to a much earlier period than that at present under discussion, but the relation persisted unchanged, as is seen in the *rāsas* and *yātrās* of the latter days. The oldest dramas mentioned by name—of the 2nd century B.C., but no longer extant—are Krishna mysteries.

and 16th centuries. Perhaps we cannot at present determine its limits more closely; but we may take the year A.D. 1500 provisionally as its central point.

Such evidence as is afforded by the Rājput paintings at present accessible tends to prove that the greatest achievements of the school must likewise antedate the close of the 16th century. It is true, that having regard to their profound accomplishment, tenderness, and passionate intensity, I should formerly have been inclined to rank highest the best work of the late 18th-century painters of Kāŋgṛā; and very fine drawing was still being done in Jaipur at the same time. But since then there have come to light a number of works, mainly 17th century, of the school of Jammu, and others closely related to these, but of the 16th century and from Rājasthān. The Jammu works have little of the delicacy and refinement so conspicuous in those of Kāŋgṛā; they are far more grandiose in their conception, broader in their detail, and forcible rather than tender. At the same time their reliance upon well-established formulas is generally carried so far as to make it clear that even in this relatively primitive art we have not discovered the best of its kind. In the same way there are certain Rājasthānī works of the 17th century, notably the *Rāgmālā* of the British Museum MS. Or. 2821, of considerable dignity, which it is easy to see could have been still better than they are; and the same applies to the two examples reproduced on our Plates v and vi. And we are not mistaken, for in almost exactly the same style, but actually far more sensitive is the one *rāgiṇī* reproduced on Plate iv; and this is most likely a work of the latter part of the 16th century. Yet more naïve and passionate, of warmer colour and more splendid draughtsmanship are the four examples reproduced on Plates i–iii.

It has been pointed out that Rājput art in its own peculiar forms, like Hindī poetry, is the product of a special inspiration (I had almost said a special revelation); but the discussion of its origins must be carried further. For the roots of it, like those of the cults of Vishnu and Śiva, and the sources of the Tertiary Prākrits, go much further back than the 13th or the 11th century. This is true both as regards style, and also as regards some of the particular compositions and general conventions. For, in the first place, to speak of style: both in composition and technique the Rājput paintings, notwithstanding their generally small size, are clearly derived from and related to an art of wall-painting. Especially is this true of the scale of the design. The small pictures are miniature only in measurement; when they are enlarged by photographic projection to many times their original size they gain in grandeur, and it would be difficult to guess that they had not been designed originally on the large scale. We must not forget also that a fair proportion of the Rājput painting was designed for or executed on actual walls. The Jaipur cartoons of Rādhā and Krishna dancing are almost life size (Plates ix, x); the Jammu *Rāmāyaṇa* pictures (Plates xxi–xxiv) measure 33 by 23½ inches, an inconvenient size for portfolio pictures, and the paper used for the pasteboard of the portfolio in which they are preserved includes a portion of a much larger cartoon of a 'Mahiṣamardinī' design, pierced for pouncing.

Wall-paintings are still preserved at Udaipur (the island palaces) and Bīkāner (the old palace); the latter are of the 17th century, and include a good deal of decoration in the style of the excerpt reproduced on Plate viii. Painted walls, indoor and out, may still be commonly met with in Hindū towns, such as Jaipur, Amritsar, and Hoshiārpur. And in this connexion it is interesting to note that the *Nāradapañcarātra*, a work on the *enfances* of Krishna, ascribed to the beginning of the 16th century,[1] refers to the gates of Śiva's palace Kailāsa as decorated with pictures and sculptures of such subjects as the 'Stealing of Clothes' and the 'Raising of Mt. Govardhan', indicating that pictures of the sort were commonly to be seen at the gates and on the walls of earthly palaces.

On the other hand, Rājput painting has no connexion with book illustration, and indeed, there never was a genuine Indian art of that kind. In the rare examples of illustrated Indian manuscripts, whether they be Nepalese palm leaves,[2] or Gujarātī Jaina works,[3] or Sanskrit or Hindī manuscripts from Hindustān, the illustration takes the shape of a painted panel laid across the text, without any organic relation to the rest of the page. Nor was there any such intimate relation between the

[1] Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, &c.*, p. 40.

[2] Or paper manuscripts, e.g. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1914, Plate lxi.

[3] For a typical example see my *Notes on Jaina Art*, 'Journal of Indian Art', July, 1914, Plate i.

painter and the calligrapher, as obtained in Persia and China. The fine Sanskrit manuscript is a thing of great, but austere beauty; but this beauty owes nothing to the painter or the decorator, it subsists in the form of the characters and the arrangement of the words and lines. Whenever Indian painters desired to illustrate a particular story, as often happened, they prepared a series of portfolio pictures[1] consecutively numbered, and either without any text, or with the appropriate text inscribed behind, or sometimes above or below. Such series are not to be described as illuminated manuscripts, but are like the wall-paintings, for example, at Degaldoruwa in Ceylon,[2] if we imagine these transferred to paper and cut up into separate panels.

The same relationships will be made evident if we examine the technique of Rājput painting. We shall find that it is essentially an art of outline, and illustrates, as clearly as the Greek vases or the Minoan frescoes, how drawing and painting can be one and the same thing. The outline, with exception of a few large cartoons apparently in charcoal, is invariably drawn with a brush; this is equally true of the largest and the smallest drawings. The first sketch is freely drawn in red; over this is spread a white priming, through which the red outline shows more or less distinctly. A second outline is then drawn over this with a finer brush, often freely modifying the original sketch. This second outline is highly finished, and contains everything that will appear in the coloured picture. When this outline is complete, the background is coloured, first the sky and buildings, and afterwards the trees. Many extremely interesting drawings are to be met with, that have not been carried beyond this stage (e.g. Plates LII and LIV, B). Finally the figures are coloured, and again outlined. In the case of copies made by pouncing, the pounced dotted outline, of course, takes the place of the first drawing in red. The white priming gives great luminosity; it also provides an almost polished surface, like that of fine plaster, for the second outline. But it may be omitted in some of the more popular or provincial work (e.g. Plate LVII). The first outline stains the paper, the second only when the priming is omitted; the colouring forms a thin skin on the surface of the paper, and readily flakes away when the paper is rubbed or bent, revealing the under-drawing beneath.

It is noteworthy that the net result of these methods can be precisely summarized in words used to describe the Ajaṇṭā frescoes:

'The technique adopted, with perhaps some few exceptions, is a bold, red line-drawing. . . . Sometimes nothing else is left. This drawing gives all the essentials with force or delicacy as may be required, and with knowledge and intention. Next comes a thinnish terra-verde monochrome, showing some of the red through it; then the local colour; then a strengthening of the outlines with blacks and browns, giving great decision, but also a certain flatness; last a little shading if necessary. . . . Nearly all the painting has for its foundation definite outlines.'[3]

We now see clearly what is the ancestry of Rājput painting. A vigorous archaic outline is the basis of its language. Uncompromising as the golden rule of art and life desired by Blake, sensitive, reticent, and tender, it perfectly reflects the self-control and sweet serenity of Indian life, and the definite theocratic and aristocratic organization of Indian society. It lends itself to the utterance of serene passion and the expression of unmixed emotions. But such an outline is not only Indian; it leads us back not merely straight to Ajaṇṭā,[4] but in its affinities, if not also in historical descent, to Early Asiatic and Aegean. It is paralleled in Egypt, in pre-Hellenic and Mykenean drawing, and in Assyrian sculpture. This Rājput art, is, in effect, the last phase of a now long-lost style, a style that rises up before us, and awakens in us, as Okakura suggests, an ineffaceable regret.[5] It is an art nearly

[1] Examples from such series are illustrated on Plates XXI–XXIV, LXII, LXIII.

[2] *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 42, 319 and Plate I.

[3] C. J. Herringham, 'Burlington Magazine', June, 1910, and *Guide-Book, Festival of Empire*, Indian Court, 1911.

[4] Vincent Smith (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 307) suggests plausibly that Tāranātha's 'School of the Ancient West' originated in Rājputāna during the 7th century, and became the model of the earliest Buddhist art in Nepal. In this view I entirely concur, and would add that as everywhere Buddhist art became gradually Hindū, so in Rājputāna itself, the later Hindū schools are directly descended from old Buddhist art such as we see at Ajaṇṭā, and the proof of this appears in the stylistic characters of the surviving Rājput paintings, for which we could infer an ancient and mural ancestry, even had we no other than internal evidence as our source of information.

[5] Okakura Kakuzo, *Ideals of the East*, ed. 2, p. 53.

related to that wonderful school of folk-drama—the *yātrās* of Bengal and the *rāsas* of Upper India—that 'without scenery, without the artistic display of costumes, could arouse emotions which nowadays we scarcely experience'.[1] It is not a new discovery, but descends from very early Asiatic sources.

Rājput painting is not an isolated example of Indian Prākrit art. Most closely related to it in subject-matter and style are the beautiful paintings sometimes met with on Orissan Vaiṣṇava book-covers;[2] and probably these ought to be definitely classed as an Eastern phase of the Rājput school. South of Rājputāna we have the interesting Gujarātī school of Jaina hieratic art[3] represented in the 15th and 16th century illustrated manuscripts and occasional paintings on cotton: this is a 'secondary Prākrit' art, descended like Rājput painting from the old tradition, but without change of subject or fresh inspiration. Parallel with Jaina painting is mediaeval Nepalese, and Western Tibetan, which we can trace back to the 11th century, and onwards to the present day, and also the mediaeval Buddhist painting of Ceylon,[4] which is best known to us in 18th century examples, though it is not yet extinct.

It may also be noted that Indian religious and poetical literature of all periods, both Sanskrit and vernacular, contains incidental references to paintings, *citra-śālās*, &c., sufficient by themselves to prove the continuity of the art, were it in any doubt.

It is thus perfectly evident that although painting has not remained, and perhaps never was—as were poetry and music—among the most universal of Indian arts, nevertheless the old Indian school has survived in considerable vigour almost to the present day; and it is only now finally disappearing wherever Western influences are most felt.[5]

It is no longer necessary to argue the distinction of Rājput from Mughal painting; for every addition to our knowledge makes it only more evident that there could scarcely exist two contemporary schools more diverse in temper. That the few Rājput paintings which formerly came to light were confused with Mughal or 'Indo-Persian' works was due partly to their comparative rarity, partly to the fact that the two schools are nearly contemporary, partly to the fact that a majority of works in both cases are portfolio pictures of moderate size, and finally to the fact that certain Rājput paintings show some traces of Mughal influence, while on the other hand many Mughal works are based directly on Rājput originals.[6]

It may, nevertheless, be convenient to resume here the broad distinctions of Rājput from Mughal.[7]

Mughal art is one of miniature painting, as Persian is an art of illumination. In the rare cases where Mughal work is executed on palace walls it has the character of miniature enlarged. Mughal art is at home in the portfolios of princely connoisseurs, but the Hindū paintings have stepped from the walls of shrines and palaces and public buildings, where their traces linger still. Mughal art

[1] Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengālī Language and Literature*, p. 730.

[2] Dinesh Chandra Sen, *loc. cit.* (facing pp. 220, 224, 528; *not* the frontispiece, which is quite modern).

[3] *Notes on Jaina Art*, 'Journal of Indian Art', July, 1914.

[4] *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 164 ff. and Plates I, XIV–XIX.

[5] The new Bengālī school of painting, in so far as it is a revival, is based more on Mughal than on Rājput inspiration.

[6] Three-fourths of the Mughal painters were Hindūs, that is to say, Rājput painters attracted by Mughal patronage. That the Mughals were not unaware of the qualities of Indian, as distinct from Persian art, appears from the remark of Abul Fazl, who, after referring to the Persian painters at Akbar's court, remarks of the Hindūs: 'Their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are equal to them.'

[7] Mughal art is well represented in English and other European collections, and many examples have been published. At the British Museum, MS. Add. 18801 is typical for portraiture, and there is a splendid fragment of a Taimuria dynastic group in the Print Room. At South Kensington the 16th century illustrations to the Romance of Amīr Hamzah are of high interest. At the India Office are several albums, including one that formerly belonged to Dārā Shukoh. At the Bodleian there are many examples, especially in MSS. Ouseley Add. 166, 167, 173, and 171; the latter contains the 'Dying Man', perhaps the finest Mughal work extant, as well as the 'Haram Scene' here reproduced on Plate XX. There are important collections abroad and in America (Boston). Of Indian collections may be mentioned that of the Calcutta Art Gallery formed by Mr. Havell; the collections of the Tagores, Bābu Sītārām Lāl, the Mahārāja of Benares, the Museum at Delhi, and my own collection (at present in England).

Published examples will be found in Martin, *The Miniature Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*; Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (1908); Sarre, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst*, München, 1910 (1912); and in magazines such as the 'Orientalisches Archiv', 'Burlington Magazine', 'L'Art décoratif', and 'Journal of Indian Art'. Also in my two volumes of *Indian Drawings* (1910, 1912).

is secular, intent upon the present moment, and profoundly interested in individuality. It is not an idealization of life, but a refined and accomplished representation of a very magnificent phase of it. It is dramatic rather than static; young, fond of experiment, and ready to assimilate. It is splendid and attractive, but it rarely touches the deep springs of life. Its greatest successes are achieved in portraiture,[1] and in the representation of courtly pomp and pageantry. All its themes are worldly, and though sheer intensity of observation—passionate delineation—sometimes raises individual works, such as the 'Dying Man' of Bodleian MS. Ouseley, Add. 171, fol. 12,[2] to the highest possible rank, yet the subject matter of Mughal art, as such, is of purely aristocratic interest: while that of the Rājput painters is universal. The distinction of Mughal from Rājput painting is indeed nowhere more apparent than in the fact that the former is aristocratic and professional, while the latter is at once hieratic and popular, and often essentially mystic in its suggestion of the infinite significance of the most homely events. Mughal courtiers would not have been interested in an art about herdsmen and milkmaids, nor Vaiṣṇavas in pictures of elephant fights. The fact that Mughal art is essentially a product of court patronage explains why it could not outlast the period of Mughal supremacy: it begins with Akbar (A.D. 1556 to 1606), and is practically finished with the death of Auraŋgzeb in 1706. Nothing survives of it but the modern Delhi miniatures on ivory, the work of tradesmen catering for tourists. These are of no interest to the man of the bazaar: in Hindū shops and houses you will find, not the portraits of the great Mughals, but mythological pictures that are either crude survivals of Rājput tradition, or German oleographs after genuine earlier drawings.[3] I need not refer to the pseudo-Indian art of Ravi Varma.

The academic character of Mughal painting also appears in the fact that the painters' names are often known, and their pictures signed. There is, too, a very definitely and rapidly moving stylistic development, a rise and decline, of which the crisis occupies less than fifty years. It is thus possible to make of the study of Mughal art an affair of names and dates, after the approved European fashion. This will never be possible with Rājput art, which, like all ancient Indian art, is typically anonymous and conservative. Mughal art, however magnificent its brief achievement, was but an episode in the long history of Indian painting: Rājput painting, with the other Prākrit arts, belongs to the main stream.

No separate work on Rājput painting has yet been published, and no contributions to its study have been made by other investigators; this is, therefore, a pioneer work, and as such may fairly claim the indulgence of later students, who will discover many errors of commission and omission. The justification of the historian of art is to be found in his ability to bring the reader into contact with his theme, and I have attempted no more than this. The student of European and Antique art is accustomed to an elaborate apparatus of names and dates, while he takes the subject-matter for granted. Here, for many reasons, I have followed an opposite course. It would not be possible with the information at present available to write a detailed history after the catalogue manner, and in any case the connexion of the art with the sources of its inspiration is far more important. On the other hand, the subject-matter of Rājput painting is unfamiliar to most European, and to many English-speaking Indian students of the present day; and while it is true that aesthetic beauty does

[1] The Rājput painters also made some excellent portraits, but this is an incidental aspect of their art. And even in portraiture there is a distinction: the Mughal draughtsman tells you very handsomely just what such and such a man was like, the Rājput shapes the likeness to a preconceived ideal. It may be noted that realistic portraiture is foreign to truly Asiatic art: it reached India through Samarqand, and is ultimately of European origin, perhaps in the last resort, English.

[2] Reproduced, 'Burlington Magazine', April, 1915.

[3] It is pathetic to reflect that German tradesmen were the first 'discoverers' of Rājput painting.

That Rājput paintings have been entirely overlooked by Anglo-Indian writers may perhaps be explained by the remark of B. H. Baden-Powell: 'In a country like this we must not expect to find anything that appeals to mind or to deep feeling' (*Panjab Manufactures*, 1872, II. iii). This is the normal standpoint of the Anglo-Indian writer: Fergusson, for example, lays it down that 'it cannot, of course, be for one moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece or the moral greatness of Rome'. Whether or not these are true judgements may be left to time to decide; here I only call attention to the, to say the least of it, unscientific attitude implied in the words '*we must not expect*', and 'it cannot, *of course*, for one moment be contended'. On this principle, the only object of research would be to confirm our *a priori* judgements!

not depend directly on the subject of a work—and expert critics may be content to look for aesthetic qualities alone, without asking what these works are about—nevertheless such beauty as they have has only arisen from the necessity which has been felt to express their subject-matter. Rājput painters, like all other Primitives, aimed at giving clear and edifying expression to certain intuitions which every one desired should be thus clearly and frequently expressed; they did not aim at making beautiful pictures. Notwithstanding that Indian aesthetic affords an excellent basis for the criticism of paintings,[1] these paintings in actual life were not regarded from the standpoint of the connoisseur, habitual to the modern collector; they formed a part of popular religion, in just the same way as the sculptures or the painted windows of a Gothic church. We need not, then, disdain to study in some detail[2] the subject-matter of Rājput painting, since all the virtue it possesses arose from the painters' passionate belief in the grandeur of their themes. At the same time, I do not wish to introduce any confusion of edification and art, and, as to this, the reader can judge for himself; while, on the other hand, it is evident that a positive lack of sympathy with Hindū thought must seriously handicap any student of Hindū art.

Finally, it may be observed that it is perfectly legitimate to consider works of art from other than aesthetic standpoints, if we are quite clear that in so doing we are not contributing to aesthetic criticism. The Rājput drawings provide the Indianist with an encyclopedia of information on customs, costumes, architecture, and above all, religion; and they are well deserving of study from these standpoints alone. On many matters they are our only source of information. In especial, no study of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism can be complete without reference to the paintings, in which these systems are set forth as logically and as deliberately as in the corresponding literature.

There is also the question of technique. It is to be feared that the details of the Rājput painters' methods have been lost, though it is hardly to be doubted that a good deal could still be recovered; in any case, the quality of their colour and the brilliancy of their brush-work must always remain an inspiration to those who make research of accomplished craftsmanship.

Many will be drawn to Rājput art as much by sympathetic and ethical, as by aesthetic considerations. Such paintings must always intimately appeal to those who are already attracted by Indian life and thought, and above all to those who realize that they form the last visual records of an order that is rapidly passing away, never to return. In any case, their ἦθος is unique: what Chinese art achieved for landscape, is here accomplished for human love. Here if never and nowhere else in the world, the Western Gates are opened wide. The arms of lovers are about each other's necks, eye meets eye, the whispering *sakhīs* speak of nothing else but the course of Krishna's courtship, the very animals are spell-bound by the sound of Krishna's flute, and the elements stand still to hear the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*. This art is only concerned with the realities of life; above all, with passionate love-service, conceived as the means and symbol of all Union. If Rājput art at first sight appears to lack the material charm of Persian pastorals, or the historic significance of Mughal portraiture, it more than compensates in tenderness and depth of feeling, in gravity and reverence. Rājput art creates a magic world where all men are heroic, all women are beautiful and passionate and shy, beasts both wild and tame are the friends of man, and trees and flowers are conscious of the footsteps of the Bridegroom as he passes by. This magic world is not unreal or fanciful, but a world of imagination and eternity, visible to all who do not refuse to see with the transfiguring eyes of love.

Rājput art, however, is not always lyrical and tender, but dealing with certain subjects from the

[1] See *The Hindu View of Art*, 'The Quest', April, 1915, and *That Beauty is a State*, 'Burlington Magazine', April, 1915.

[2] Really very briefly. To embrace fully the subject-matter of Rājput paintings requires a wide range of reading. The following works available to English readers may be mentioned:

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, trans. M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1891; The *Mahābhārata*, trans. P. C. Ray, Calcutta, 1893–6; the *Gītā Govinda*, trans. Arnold (*Indian Poetry*); *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans. M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1897; the *Prema Sāgara*, trans. Pincott, London, 1897; *Vidyāpati*, trans. Coomaraswamy and Sen, London, 1915; *One Hundred Poems of Kabīr*, trans. Tagore and Underhill, London, 1914; Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, &c.*, Strassburg, 1913; Coomaraswamy and Nivedita, *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*, London, 1913; D. C. Sen, *Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1910; Grierson, *The Satsāiyā of Bihārī*, Calcutta, 1896; Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, London, 1914.

epics, such as the *Death of Bhīṣma*, or the *Mahābhārata Gambling Scene*—in representing Bhīṣma upon the bed of arrows, 'like a fire about to go out', or in representing the five Pāṇḍavas staring each at the other, while Duḥśāsana seeks to tear the clothes from the body of Draupadī, 'whom scarcely the sun had seen, nor winds kissed', so had she been guarded from curious eyes—dealing with such problems it attains to a dignity and grandeur not surpassed in any epic painting in the world. Nor is the Rājput painting merely concerned with Vaiṣṇava theology: it is also Śaiva and Śākta. The representations of Śiva and Pārvatī are indeed often tender and homely; they wander like any lovers through the Himālayan forests, accompanied by Durgā's tiger or Śiva's bull, and often with their children Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. But again we find them dancing in the burial ground, or Pārvatī seated with Mahādeva, stringing for him a garland of the heads of the Brahmās of successive aeons—as a girl might thread a daisy-chain. It is Devī who fights the battles of the *devas* against the *asuras*, and slays the demon-bull Mahiṣa, over whom she stands like a terrible Minerva; or in the form of Kālī she laps up the *asuras* in myriads with her fiery tongue;[1] and she is the death of kings, time all-devouring, sparing none.[2] And yet she is the loving mother of men, and the devoted servant of her lord, the pattern of a Hindū wife, and cries to him that she desires not Paradise itself, 'if thou art not satisfied with me!'

Finally, the Rājput paintings comprise a certain element of portraiture; and here also, though this portraiture is but a small part of the whole art, the characterization is heroic and epic, very rarely so meticulously representative or so courtier-like as Mughal.

We shall also find a group of pictures, mainly late Pahāṛī, illustrating romance and ballad. A very exquisite series of drawings illustrates the story of Nala and Damayantī. A very frequent subject is drawn from the folk-tale of Sohnī and Mahīṅvāl; it represents a girl swimming across a river at night, to visit her lover, a keeper of buffaloes. Several series of drawings have been made to illustrate the *Hammīr Haṭh*; one of these, at Paṭyāla, has in turn inspired a poet to create a new version of the ballad itself.[3] It is perhaps worth mentioning that I have never met with any old illustration to the *Padumāvatī*,[4] or to the *Prithvīrāj Rāsāū*.

In these paintings also are reflected all the Hindū woman-ideals, both physical and spiritual. The heroine's eyes are large as any lotus flowers, her tresses fall in heavy plaits, her breasts are firm and high, her thighs are full and smooth, her hands like rosy flowers, her gait as dignified as any elephant's, and her demeanour utterly demure. When Rādhā hears the messages of Krishna, the drawing recalls an Annunciation; when she meets his eye, her own are dropped and veiled; when she meets himself, the power of movement leaves her limbs, she stands 'like a painted picture', or a golden statue, and she knows the whole of life in one day. She is altogether human and feminine, and rails against her own gentleness, and bitterly complains of Krishna's infidelities; but in the end she gives herself without reserve, and asks for nothing in return.

The typical examples of Rājput painting, like every other expression of mystical intuition, have for us this lesson, that what we cannot discover at home and in familiar events, we cannot discover anywhere. The Holy Land is the land of our own experience. All is in all: and if beauty is not apparent to us in the well-known, we shall not find it in things that are strange and far-away. Typical of this sort is the painting of *Krishna Dudhādārī*, reproduced on Plate XLV; this is a prophecy in every way as clear as Kabīr's, when he says:

'I laugh when I hear that the fish in the water is thirsty!
You do not see that the Real is in your home, and you wander from forest to forest restlessly:
Here is the truth! Go where you will, to Benares or to Mathurā; if you do not find your soul, the world is unreal to you . . . In the home is reality.'

Those that represented the *Krishna Līlā* understood the union of love and renunciation in life, and the secret of limitless life in this world. It needs not to say, that just as village life afforded the sufficient material for the imagery of the *Krishna Līlā*, so in respect of the epics, when these

[1] *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plates XVI, I and XVII.
[2] Plate LXIX.
[3] *Vide infra*, p. 67.
[4] There is, however, a comparatively modern manuscript of the Pādumāvatī at the India Office (Sanskrit Catalogue, no. 2471), profusely illustrated.

were represented, it was not by students of archaeology acquainted with what might have been the costume and manners of pre-Buddhist India, but by men who pictured to themselves the epic heroes in terms of their own experience; there was nothing romantic in their conception of the past, just as there was nothing romantic in their conception of heaven. Time and space were faint: and all ages and all conditions alike seemed to pass before their eyes in terms of the present moment.

If Indian painting for nearly eight centuries, roughly from A.D. 650 to 1427,—the latest date of Ajaṇṭā to that of the earliest illustrated Jaina text so far available—is nearly a blank, apart from Nepal, it is certain that much of the greatest value has been lost. But I am inclined to think that we may take consolation in the reflection that we have preserved to us sufficient to afford a good idea of Indian painting in its two supreme periods. The intervening ages exhibit no one great religious inspiration comparable either with that of Mahāyāna Buddhism or that of mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism. To a certain extent the intervening art may have corresponded in style to the later Sanskrit and Prākrit poems, 'artificial productions, written in the closet by learned men for learned men'. But the Neo-Gauṛian poets, continues the same writer, 'wrote for unsparing critics, the people . . . they have remained living voices in the people's hearts, because they appealed to the sense of the true and the beautiful'.[1] The same is true of the Rājput painters, whose work is immediate, unique, and unforgettable, and in time to come will be given an honourable place amongst the great arts of the world.

[1] Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature o Hindustan* Calcutta 1889, preface.



MAP OF RĀJASTHĀN AND THE PAÑJĀB.

PART I. THE RĀJPUT SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

THE Rājput paintings may be classified in three ways: according to their subjects, their sources, or their age. To classify them according to subject, the easiest way, is not illuminating; for although the Vaiṣṇava inspiration predominates, yet Rājput art cannot be called sectarian in the sense that each class of matter is dealt with in a separate way. To classify Rājput paintings on a geographical basis is also fairly easy, except in particular instances; but this method by itself could not exhibit the development. The only classification which can properly do this is the classification by age, which should always be adopted in catalogues—supplemented, of course, by geographical and subject data. It is only an historical treatment that can represent the whole movement as a cycle, or enable us to speak of a rise, progress, and decline. In the present incomplete state of our knowledge (which is never likely to become exhaustive) it is most convenient to approach the matter at the same time from the historical and from the geographical standpoint; and this will be no disadvantage, for the geographical treatment, like the study of dialects, throws considerable light on evolution.

Rājput paintings may be broadly divided into two groups, the Rājasthānī and the Pahāṛī, with possibly an Eastern extension to include the 17th century Orissan book-covers.[1] The term Rājput is here practically equivalent to the 'Indo-Aryan' of ethnologists, which designation covers the Rājputs, Khattris, and Jāts of Rājputāna, the Pañjāb, and the Western Himālayas, i. e. all the old Hindū elements in North-Western India, east of the Indus. The term Rājasthānī has the same geographical connotation as when used linguistically. But Pahāṛī is used in the local Pañjābī sense, to mean belonging to the hills, from Jammu to Almorā; which corresponds to *Pañjābī* in part, and to the *Western Pahāṛī*, of the Linguistic Survey.[2]

Rājasthānī paintings are those works which have been executed in Rājputāna, from Bīkāner to the border of Gujarāt, and from Jodhpur to Gwālior and Ujjain. We either know, or may infer that the great centres of Rājasthānī painting have been Jaipur, Orchā, and Bīkāner, and presumably Udaipur and Ujjain; possibly also Mathurā at an earlier date. It was once a matter of course that every rājā had his court painters, as well as court musicians, dancers, and, of course, the poets and pandits. It has been pointed out that Rājasthān, or Rājputāna, for more than a thousand years continuously in the possession of the Rājput clans, is one of the most conservative areas of India. The great majority of the people are still Hindūs, 'whose caste customs and prejudices have tended to differentiate them from their Muhammadan neighbours, and to preserve, with the utmost tenacity, their ancient beliefs and practices'. Further, 'the inaccessibility and remoteness from the seat of empire of many parts of this large tract of country, have strongly confirmed local prejudices, especially

[1] These are not, as I once suggested, of a Dravidian type, but closely connected with Rājput art. Fine examples are reproduced in Dinesh Chandra Sen's *History of Bengālī Language and Literature*, 1911, facing pp. 220, 224, 528 (the Frontispiece is of course modern, and of no merit); and in the same author's *Typical Selections from Old Bengālī Literature*, Plates VI, VIII, XIII. The art of these 17th century book-covers of Vaiṣṇava MSS. is almost beyond praise, and quite comparable with that of the early Rājasthānī *rāgiṇīs*. Glimpses such as this afford an idea of all that must have been lost.

[2] Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, i, pp. 293, 322, 367, and especially 368; also the Rājasthānī, Pañjābī, and Western Pahāṛī volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

as regards dress and ornament, and, in such matters as fashion, have increased the power of resistance of the people to outside influences. . . . In Rājputāna we find even now in power the representatives of the oldest families in India, and most of them rule in or near the places which were conquered by their ancestors, many centuries ago.' The same writer nevertheless adds, 'I have been disappointed in not finding very ancient examples of art of any kind, even amongst the treasures of old Rājput families.'[1]

This must not be taken to prove that important and ancient paintings may never be found. It is, however, perfectly true, and for a variety of reasons, that apart from architecture and sculpture, it is extremely rare to meet with examples of any sort of Indian art older than the 17th century. When a family prospered, it was the tendency to renew the family possessions, and to patronize and enjoy the art and craftsmanship of the day, older treasures being discarded. On the other hand, if the family fell into poor circumstances, its possessions were sold or lost.

Many valuable treasures have likewise been lost or destroyed in the course of the constant internal warfare which marks the history of Rājasthān. Even in the case of manuscripts it is very rare to meet with copies of Hindī works made before the 16th century.[2] Yet, since illustrated Jaina books of the early 15th century are known, it may well be that fresh discoveries of older Rājasthānī paintings may also be made. Of examples available to the present writer, none can be claimed as older than the series of twenty-three *rāgiṇīs* from which four examples are reproduced on Plates I–III (the full number should be thirty-six). These are the nearest that we have to the unknown primitives of Rājput painting. There is not as yet the least tendency to treat the *rāgiṇīs* as pictorial material; the painter is occupied entirely with expression. I do not say that these works are absolutely better than certain others of a later period, such as the *Krishna Dudhādārī* of Plate XLV (to take only one of several Pahāṛī examples); but the excellence of the later Pahāṛī works depends very largely on the genius of individual painters, and they occur amidst a mass of commonplace production. As I take it, the twenty-three *rāgiṇīs* proceed from a period of general achievement when not merely individual artists, but the majority of painter-craftsmen, attained to a relatively high standard of creative art, and all to high accomplishment. In any case these *rāgiṇīs* take us back nearer to such a period than any other works of Rājput art with which I am acquainted.

They form a series in many respects unique in its combination of impeccable draughtsmanship and constant invention with savage vitality and strange formulae. A characteristic feature is the representation of floating drapery, and of flesh or of coloured garments clearly seen through coats or skirts of perfectly transparent muslin, yellow or white. A special peculiarity, apparent in no later Rājput works, is the representation of shadow across the armpits wherever the upper part of a male figure is covered only by transparent muslin (see Plate I). I mention this, because it is a feature that reappears, together with a predilection for effects of colour seen through muslin, in Mughal portraits of the school of Akbar and Jahāŋgīr, an excellent example being the portrait[3] of Mān Siŋgh in British Museum MS. Add. 18801 (Mān Siŋgh's costume is practically identical with that of several male figures amongst the twenty-three pictures of *rāgiṇīs*).

A typical motif in Rājput art is the water and lotus foreground which constantly reappears in this series, and in other works, both Rājasthānī and Pahāṛī. The tree types, however, are very peculiar, and occur nowhere else, with exception of one picture in the same style obtained from Jaipur. The borders of the *rāgiṇī* pictures are pink, with yellow bands above and below, and the subject often overlaps the border. The horizons are high, but leave room for a band of dark sky,[4]

[1] T. H. Hendley, 'Journal of Indian Art', vol. xii, pp. 17, 19.

[2] As justly remarked by Tod: 'After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus; after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigoted, and exasperated foes; it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with other important interests, irretrievable losses.' (*Annals of Rājasthān*, Introduction.) What applies to literary works must be even more true of paintings.

[3] Published by me in the 'Orientalisches Archiv', iii. 1, Figure 12. Cf. also my portrait of Malik 'Ambar in the same journal, Figure 11; and again, a portrait reproduced by Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Pl. LX.

[4] It is an old convention of Indian poetry and painting that the sky is dark. In old Indian usage, and generally, the word *nīlam* means blue-black, indigo: true sky-blue (*āsmānī*)

passing into a strip of ragged cloud at the upper margin; sometimes there are also represented snaky red gold lightning and falling rain, recalling the Bīkāner wall decoration reproduced on Plate VIII.

The architecture is of an unique and ancient type, antedating most of the Rājput civil building now extant, and on the whole of a simple character; the interiors are coloured plain red or green, the walls are without decoration. The colouring is extremely rich, and much play is made with notes of black, particularly in the form of tassels; the use of gold and silver is very restricted.

It will be seen subsequently that many of these peculiarities connect these works very closely with those of Jammu.[1] The significance of this will be clearly expressed if we point out that the mannerisms of Rājasthānī and Hill Rājput painting cannot have been much differentiated previously to the consolidation of the Mughal Empire, which divided the Rājputs of Rājasthān from those of the hills by the wide strip of the Pañjāb plains, where now runs the railway from Delhi to Lahore. The local peculiarity of the 18th century Kāŋgrā style is to be explained as a post-Mughal local development, while the common and archaic features of Jammu and early Rājasthānī paintings point to their early date, when free intercourse between the Rājputs of Rājasthān and of the Hills was not yet interrupted.

The subject of night scenes may also be referred to here, as a good example occurs amongst the twenty-three *rāgiṇīs* (Plate I). The representation of such scenes, where brightly illuminated figures are set against a dark background is most likely a very old motif in Indian art, for some such indications are essential to the representation of certain *nāyakās* (*Utkā* and *Abhisārikā*) and certain *rāgiṇīs*; and such representations are vividly suggested in the visual character of many of the poetical descriptions. Mughal painters, on the other hand—possibly affected by European suggestions—developed night scenes in a more picturesque and realistic manner, often representing firelight and cast shadow;[2] and this method again reacted on the later schools of Rājput painting, as exemplified in Plate LXX, B.

Another beautiful work of the latter part of the 16th century is the *Gauṛakarī Rāgiṇī*, reproduced on Plate IV. Many of the same motifs are repeated, but the conventions are less violent and the drawing more refined. This work is closely related to the two *rāgiṇīs* reproduced on Plates V and VI, and these again with all those of the British Museum MS. Or. 2821, which may be as late as the middle of the 17th century. They seem to form a local group, but there is nothing to indicate their exact source. It may be mentioned that at this time Orchā, as well as Amber, was a great centre of Rājput culture and art patronage; and the architecture in these pictures strongly recalls that of the early 17th century palaces at Orchā and Datiya. In all these works the architecture is represented with unusual care, paralleled only in some of the later Kāŋgrā works, where, however, it is of a very different and more feminine character.

Two other Rājasthānī works of the late 16th century are reproduced: the delicate fragment of Plate XVII, A, too much damaged for much remark; and the larger example of Plate VII, a fine work of a hieratic character.

Rājput mural painting of the early 17th century is preserved in the old palace at Bīkāner, but I am not able to reproduce anything more than the excerpt given on Plate VIII; this is a copy admirably executed for me by a modern Bīkāner craftsman, commissioned by the Mahārājā. This is a remarkable

only appears in the later Pahāṛī paintings, and this word *āsmānī* occurs in association with other colour-names of Persian origin. The narrow strip of dark sky filled with ragged cloud is characteristic of Rājasthānī and Pahāṛī works alike, and may be regarded as archaic, for it occurs also in Jaina art of the 15th century (*Notes on Jaina Art*, 'Journal of Indian Art', Oct. 1914, Figures 1, 7, 13, 29, &c.; also Plate LXXVII, D, of the present work), and in Ceylon (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, Plate XIX).

[1] It would be difficult to prove absolutely that these *rāgiṇīs* may not actually be of Jammu origin. But the presumption is against any such attribution; thus, there is no Ṭākrī script; the pictures were bought in Delhi, where Pahāṛī works are practically unknown, and I have another in the same manner brought direct from Jaipur; they resemble British Museum MS. Or. 2821 in several respects, and that work is almost certainly of Rājasthānī origin. To this I may add my strong subjective impression of their Rājasthānī source; for in the course of handling attentively many thousand pictures of any school the student inevitably acquires a certain power of accurate judgement which it may not always be possible to account for by logical reasons.

[2] Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plates LXV, LXVI; Coomaraswamy, *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, Plate V.

representation; but notwithstanding its more or less Chinese appearance, it differs from the clouds and lightning of the picture reproduced on Plate IV only in the stronger convention appropriate to mural art; there also the lightning is a red and gold snake. The falling rain is also repeated in many other works, conspicuously, for example, in the late Kāŋgṛā example of Plate LVIII. The lightning of most of the late Kāŋgṛā paintings (Plates LVIII, LXXI, B, LXXIII, A) is, however, much more realistic, and so with the clouds (Plate LV).

The suggestion of Far-Eastern art in the Bīkānēr mural fragment is one that occasionally becomes conspicuous in Rājasthānī art,[1] particularly at Bīkāner, where true Chinese clouds are painted on the lacquered shields, and at Udaipur, where the wall-painting of the island palaces, perhaps by an 18th century hand, evidently repeats a Chinese model. Amongst Pahāṛī drawings, also, one occasionally meets with a copy of some Chinese motif. The Chinese element in Rājput art, however, is purely sporadic, and cannot be traced as an integral factor, as it became in Persian painting, and to a smaller extent also in Mughal. In Rājput art I am inclined to trace the Chinese motifs to the sea-borne commerce. There has long existed an extensive importation of Chinese embroidery into Gujarāt, and this is still continued, while fragments of Chinese embroidery several centuries old are often to be met with in Western India, associated with purely Indian work.

The most familiar Rājasthānī painting is that of Jaipur in the 18th century.[2] Its most impressive examples are the large cartoons represented on Plates IX and X, which are selected from a number of the working drawings (mostly pricked for reproduction by pouncing) designed for two large paintings on cloth now preserved in the library of the Mahārājā of Jaipur, and probably executed in the latter part of the 18th century. In these works, and another large picture reproduced on Plate XI, we see the persistence of ancient art, not merely in a miniature adaptation, but on its true scale.[3] These large works are in the purest idiom of Hindū art, handed down from century to century, with a certainty and loyalty which is only paralleled in the transmission of the sacred texts. We wonder at the persistence of tradition in the art of Egypt; it is scarcely less remarkable that the Hindūs, through centuries of religious evolution and of warfare should have been able to preserve almost to our own time so much of the grandeur that belongs to the art of the period of their supreme achievement.[4] These works alone are sufficient proof of the authentic and autochthonous character of Rājput painting.

These works are an immediate expression of the Hindū view of life. Here is that distinct, sharp and wiry bounding line which Blake, most Indian of modern Western minds, regarded as the golden rule of art and life. A line so deliberate, so self-confident, so full of wonder at the beauty of the world, especially the beauty of women, and at the same time so austere, could not be a sudden achievement, nor depend on the brilliance of a single personality. It is the product of a whole civilization, and of aristocratic traditions protected by hieratic sanctions. In this work there is no room for cleverness; too haughty to admire ingenuity, too distinguished to affect a calligraphic elegance, or to feel the smallest interest in any attempt to create an illusion of modelling, it is an art both proud and passionate and very reserved. It is sometimes said that the Indians have left no history; but what else than history is any work of traditional art? Of such art we can at least say that it is not a product of chance, but is determined by antecedent racial *karma*, and cannot

[1] These Chinese motifs are referred to by Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1904, pp. 170, 180, &c.

[2] This art continued to flourish during the 19th century, and is scarcely yet extinguished, notwithstanding that pupils in the local 'School of Art' may now be seen laboriously studying from mural diagrams of English farm animals.

[3] See also *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plates I–V, and the 'Burlington Magazine', March, 1912, Plate IV. Very slightly Mughalized versions of this type also occur; an example from Bodleian MS. Ouseley Add. 167, f. 2 is reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, i, Pl. XV. See also Plate XX of the present work (small in scale, but like in physiognomy).

[4] 'Asia has been called the cradle of mankind. What confirms this title of honour is that the old civilizations in the heart of Asia, with wonderful self-reliance, have remained true to a primitive art which is linear, decorative, and founded in handicraft. We Westerns have greatly prided ourselves on a "progress" from stiff and primitive art to an art of realism; we have wearily pursued nature; and to-day we are face to face with an aesthetic bankruptcy which regards a Bocklin or a Klinger'—as who should say, the type of the Royal Academy—'as rather to be approved than condemned. And laboriously we are feeling our way back to those sources of art from which the more fortunate Asiatics have scarcely departed.' H. Hieber, *Die Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, München, 1912, p. 72.

be detached from the life it expresses. These drawings answer for us a whole series of questions as to what manner of men so spoke and what manner of life they sought to praise. From these heads, so serene, so confidently poised, from these sensitive expressive hands, these white and gold and coloured muslins we can reconstruct, as it were from the buried fragments of an ancient textile, the whole pattern of the Rājput civilization—simple, aristocratic, generous, and self-sufficient. No other evidence than this is needed to establish the magnificence of that old Hindū world that is vanishing before our eyes at the present day in a tornado of education and reform.

It will be noticed that most of these cartoons are pricked, and have been used as stencils. The same is true of very many of the smaller drawings, which in this way have been multiplied again and again. We may well say of Rājput art that 'there are a thousand proofs that the old masters . . . executed their frescoes from cartoons and their little easel pictures from more or less finished drawings'. (Ingres.)

The smaller examples of 18th century Jaipur painting, which are much more abundant, are well represented by the four *rāgiṇīs* reproduced on Plates XII and XIII.[1] This is a very polished and very charming art, delicate and jewelled, but it will be found a little hard when compared with the *rāgiṇī* of Plate IV, and something lacking in passion when compared with those of Plates I–III. The great formality of some of these late Jaipur *rāgiṇīs* (e. g. Plate XIII, A) has its own charm; even the goldfish swimming round the little fountains are careful to arrange themselves in patterns. A conspicuous feature is the strongly zigzagged margin of the water, which is characteristic of Rājput art throughout.[2] It will be noticed that the curious form of the *padmāsana* in Plate XII, A closely follows that already seen in Plate IV. The beautiful carpet of Plate XIII, B is delineated with the same care that is devoted to the flowery gardens; and these gardens themselves, now walled, now water-side, show what attention—partly under Mughal influence—had been given to garden-planning.

Another phase of 18th and 19th century Jaipur painting is represented by a considerable school of portraiture, varying from small black and white miniatures to coloured works nearly life size. The small drawings at any rate are clearly related to Mughal art, and copies of Mughal works are sometimes found. But the great majority are the likenesses of the Rājput Mahārājās and of local worthies;[3] they are clearly differentiated from Mughal works by a more monumental and idealistic treatment, and less relief. Occasional portraits are of admirable quality, but few attain such insight into character and personality as the best Mughal art reveals. But even the works that are formal and uninteresting as portraits are a storehouse of information on costume and jewellery. Most remarkable are the great white accordion-pleated skirts of rājās and courtiers, and some of the elaborate turbans, particularly the enormous erections of the rājās of Jodhpur. Jaipur art of the 19th century, apart from these portraits, is fairly abundant, in rather crude popular forms representing the continuation of older traditions. The prevailing subjects are Vaiṣṇava and musical. An excellent example is reproduced by Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate LII.

I have already referred to the distinction of Rājput from Mughal painting, and the considerable dependence of the latter on the former. In a work on Mughal painting this dependence would require detailed discussion. Here I have reproduced only a very few examples of works that must be called Mughal, but in which the Rājput element—subject or convention—is predominant. Thus the *Krishna's Dance* of Plate XVIII, A,[4] an illustration to the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dāsa, dateable about A.D. 1600, while its subject-matter is entirely Hindū, and the cloud convention and other details are distinctively Rājput, is nevertheless Mughal in draughtsmanship. Another Rājput subject (Plate XIX),

[1] Other pictures in the same style are the Jodh Bāī reproduced in my *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, Plate III, and the 'Girl returning from Worship', which forms the first illustration in *Vidyāpati* (translated by myself and Arun Sen, 1915).

[2] In many of the Pahāṛī works there will also be remarked a white foam-line at the water's edge (e.g. Plate XLVIII, B). This may be a very ancient motif in Indian painting, for it vividly recalls the beautiful passage in the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa (xii, 107), where Nandabalā, the daughter of the chief of the herdsmen, is described as wearing a dark blue woollen cloth and a white shell armlet, 'like the river Jamunā, with its dark blue water and its wreath of foam'.

[3] Reproductions of these portraits are given in *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plates XVIII, XIX, and XX, 1, 3; there is a large series in my own collection, vol. iv, and there are a few in the British Museum, and at South Kensington.

[4] Properly, the *Lalita-hāva* (graceful posing) of the Nāyaka: *Rasikapriyā*, *Bhāva Lakṣaṇa*, v. 24.

Women Bathing (overlooked by a young man hidden in the trees) is treated to some extent in a Mughal manner, and the same applies to the *Haram Scene* of Plate XX. The Mughal treatment is a little more material and romantic, which finds expression in the more pronounced modelling and relief, and the use of mixed colours. This is seen also in the *rāgiṇī* of Plate XVII, B; while the beautiful example of Plate XVIII, B remains almost pure Rājput.[1]

All these are mentioned here as being closely related to typical Rājasthānī work of the 17th and 18th centuries. Mughal art does not in the same way mould itself on 18th-century Pahāṛī painting, for by that time true Mughal art was almost ended; but a good deal of work was produced in the 18th century, in Oudh and elsewhere, which may be called late Mughal, and has a mixed character, the subjects being very frequently purely Hindū, but represented chiefly for their picturesque qualities, and without reference to their meaning. This art, which I have not thought it necessary to discuss at length, is referred to by Mr. Vincent Smith (who does not mention Rājput painting proper) as 'Eighteenth Century Painting, chiefly mythological'.[2]

[1] Further examples of Rājput subjects made into Mughal pictures are found in Plates I, V, VI of my *Selected Examples of Indian Art*. I should not now classify these as Rājput, but as based on Rājput originals; the first, for example, on a *Bhairavī Rāgiṇī*. Another Rājput subject rendered by a Mughal hand is the *Śiva Pūja* by Muhammad Fakīrullah Khān, reproduced by Vincent Smith (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plate CXXVIII); this should be compared with the first subject reproduced in *Vidyāpati* (trans. A. K. Coomaraswamy and Arun Sen, 1915). All large collections of Mughal paintings include many renderings of Hindū subjects, with more or less of Rājput detail or convention.

[2] *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, ch. V, section 5.

CHAPTER II

PAHĀṚĪ

A. JAMMU

We turn now to the consideration of the Pahāṛī or Hill schools. The area referred to extends from Jammu to Almorā, including in particular Jammu itself, and the district of Kāŋgṛā, now a part of the Pañjāb. These are the hill tracts which have at more than one period been occupied by Rājput chiefs forced by Mug͟hal invasions to retire from the plains.

Most of the Hill Rājputs are of low-country origin: thus, at the fall of Delhi, Ājmere, and Mahoba at the close of the 12th century, the Chauhāns and Chandels were scattered over the face of Northern India. They established petty principalities in the Himālayas from Jammu to Almorā;[1] this is exactly where local schools of Rājput painting have been maintained up to the beginning of the 19th century. This painting is not in any way to be regarded as an indigenous creation of the hill races; its character is properly defined by the term 'Rājput'.

The Pahāṛī paintings can be classified in two groups: a northern series, the school of Jammu, which may also be called Ḍogrā, and a southern series, called the school of Kāŋgṛā, but extending to Garhwāl.[2]

The district of Jammu, of which the capital town of the same name is now the winter head-quarters of the Kāshmīr court, is little accessible to foreign influences. 'Lying off the high roads of India, and away from the fertile plains of the Panjāb, the barren hills of the Dogrās had not attracted the notice of the Mug͟hal invaders of India. Here lived a number of petty Rājās, and it appears that from very early times the kingdom of Jammu was locally of some importance. To the East, at Basoli and Kishtwār, were independent Rājput chiefs.'[3] To the north-west were the Muhammadan rulers of Bhimbar and Rajaori, descendants of Rājputs, and up the Jhelam valley other Muhammadan chiefs whose title of Rājā also suggests a Hindū origin. Rājā Ranjit Deo ruled in Jammu in the third quarter of the 18th century, dying about A.D. 1780. Thereafter Jammu remained tributary to the Sikhs until A.D. 1846.

There can be very little doubt that the large Rāmāyaṇa pictures reproduced on Plates XXI–XXIV are due to the court artists of Jammu. Notwithstanding that their details are a little lacking in feeling, these pictures are in a grand style: and their unique size ($33 \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ in.), as well as the probable large extent of the series,[4] are an indication of the status of the patron for whom they must have been executed. Many of the leaves are handsomely endorsed (doubtless by a paṇḍit, not by the painter) with Devanāgarī texts (Figure 12) from the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, but the original sketches for the series have the names of the heroes written in, evidently by the artist himself, in the usual Ṭākrī character, and examples of these legends are given here in Nos. 7–9 of Figure 1. A drawing from another series in almost the same style is reproduced on Plate XXV.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. i, p. 368; vol. ii, p. 318.

[2] Communication between Kāŋgṛā and Garhwāl, via Maṇḍi and Rāmpur, is easy, and probably we must regard the whole belt of hill territory extending to Garhwāl, rather than Kāŋgṛā alone, as the source of the southern Pahāṛī paintings; this Kāŋgṛā-Garhwāl area possesses a stylistic unity distinct from that of the less polished Jammu Ḍogrās.

[3] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Jammu.

[4] From the whole series I have six coloured examples and several drawings, as well as the pasteboard covers of the original portfolio, bound in red cloth. The paper used for the covers is written over with old accounts; but one sheet is part of a huge *Mahiṣamardinī* cartoon, pricked for pouncing. The latest serial number on the pictures is 39. I do not know what has become of the rest of the series, except that a few more of the uncoloured sketches are still obtainable in Amritsar (1915).

A splendid work in a nearly related style is reproduced on Plate XXVI, A representing Durgā slaying an *asura*; the goddess is seated on the side of a towering gloomy mountain, which stands out (in the original) against the deep red background, on which is silhouetted the figure of the demon, consumed in the flames of a bomb cast by the goddess. Such examples are even more dramatic than the best of the Kāŋgrā paintings of Durgā-Mahiṣamardinī.

Other examples of the school of Jammu are reproduced on Plates XXVI–XXXIII. Amongst the more conspicuous technical peculiarities of these works may be mentioned the very high horizon, leaving only the narrowest margin of sky, occupied by stormy cloud (Plates XXVI, XXVIII). In night scenes there are also snaky flashes of crimson lightning, and drops of falling rain (Plate XXVII, B). The colouring is hot. Silver is used as well as gold. A remarkable feature is the occasional use of fragments of beetles' wings to represent jewellery; this is paralleled by the introduction of fragments of actual pearl in some of the later Rājasthānī examples. The architecture is bold and massive (Plates XXI, XXIX), and, so far as it can be correlated with Rājasthānī and Mughal, evidently of a 16th and early 17th century character. Trees are represented by many extraordinary formulae; amongst the more recognizable varieties, the 'weeping willow' is characteristic (Plates XXXI, XXXII, B). Transparent floating drapery, a feature of the oldest Indian art, is here also conspicuous (Plate XXXII, A). Most of the pictures have red borders, on which a legend may be written in white; not infrequently a part of the picture projects across the border.

The Jammu pictures are well and vigorously designed, often with a decorative simplicity very suggestive of large scale mural art (Plates XXVI, B, XXVIII, B, XXIX). In several examples there reappears that savage vitality which has been already remarked in the early Rājasthānī *rāgiṇīs*, but it is here associated with more exaggeration[1] and with a stranger physical type (Plates XXX, XXXII, B); the peculiar sloping forehead and very large eyes are especially characteristic of some of the portraits (Plate XXXIV). Less often the conspicuous qualities are serenity and sweetness (Plate XXVI, B). The caricature reproduced on Plate XXXV, B is an extraordinary delineation of vacuous satisfaction, smug cunning, bombast, and attenuated pessimism; although the matter of this work is repulsive—for the Saints maligned were men of genius and piety—one cannot but concede its great ability, nor deny to it a place in the first rank of Pahāṛī drawing. It rarely happens that a caricature of any age or country attains such caustic success.[2]

The Jammu works include a fair number of portraits, of which examples are reproduced on Plates XXXIII–XXXV. These are often grand and simple in design (Plate XXXIII). The figure drawing, however, tends to the curious wildness already referred to; the eyes are often very large, and the pupil central, even when the eye is seen in profile; very generally associated with these peculiarities is a markedly receding forehead (Plates XXXIV, B, XXXV, A). The rājās affect white or flowered costumes, the white often delicately relieved by the black dots of a rosary (Plate XXXIII); almost all wear in their turbans a flower or a peacock feather, a custom still prevailing in the inner hills, but not in the plains or in Kāŋgrā. The influence of Mughal fashions can also be recognized.

Many of the Jammu pictures reproduced may be assigned to the early part of the 17th century, but some may belong to the 18th, when, however, it seems that Kāŋgrā had become a more important centre of production.

The Jammu pictures are often provided with inscribed texts. In some cases these are Sanskrit extracts written in Nāgarī characters, as in the case of the texts behind the pictures reproduced on Plates XXI, XXII, and XXVI, A; but the most characteristic inscriptions are short labels in the local dialect, written in the very illegible Ḍogrā Ṭākrī character. Quotations in Hindī, written in Nāgarī characters, such as are very common on Kāŋgrā pictures, do not appear here. Examples of the Ṭākrī texts will be remarked on Plates XXVIII and XXXIII; the latter I have not been able to decipher.

[1] Some of the more peculiar works may derive from the most provincial of Ḍogrā Rājput courts. But for all their strangeness (and some are even more bizarre than any here reproduced) these are powerful and authentic examples of ancient tradition, and are genuine primitives in the sense that intense conviction guides expression, indifferent alike to representation or elegance.

[2] *Indian Drawings*, ii, p. 28. The Ṭākrī script in which the names of the Saints are inscribed associates this work with others of the school of Jammu, where it takes its natural place, and does not stand altogether alone. I do not now think it necessary to assume any Central Asian influence.

Eleven other examples are here printed, traced from the originals, and these are provided with transliteration and translation. These texts show the Pañjābī genitive in *dā* and *dī*, and also that the word *bhāryyā* (wife) is presented in the form *bhārajā*.[1] I need not here enter into a discussion of the peculiarities of the Ṭākrī character as written in the Ḍogrā hills[2]; the chief importance of the matter, from our standpoint, apart from a desire to read the actual labels (a difficult matter in every case), lies in the fact that the common presence of these characteristic inscriptions confirms

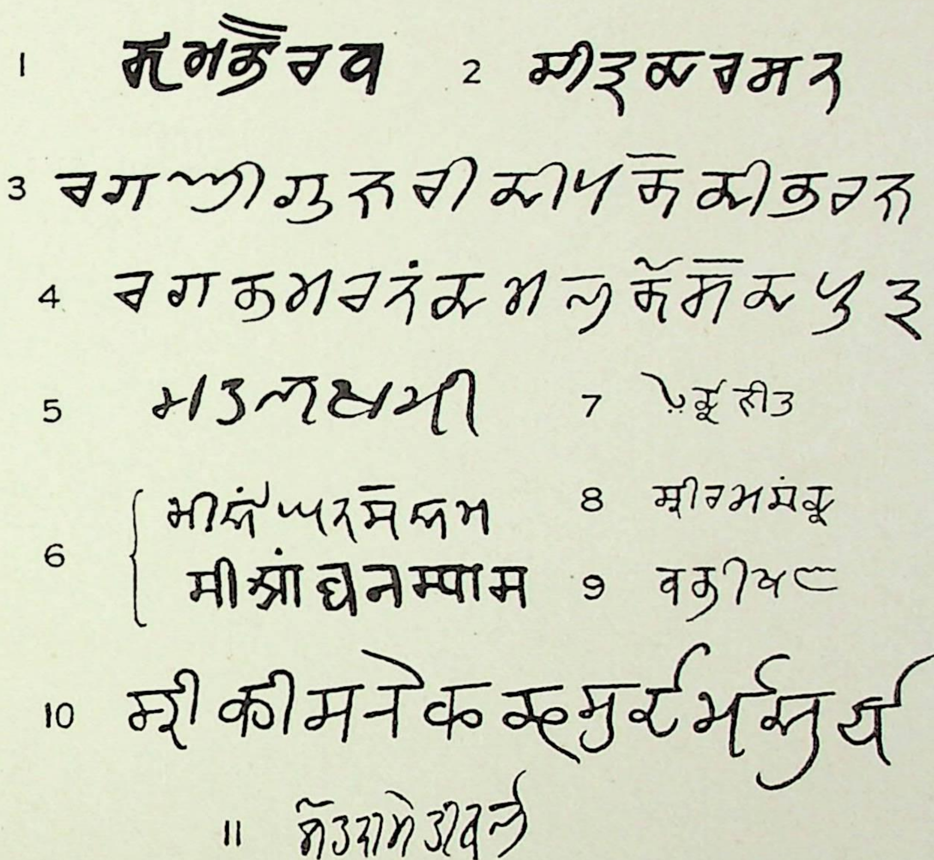


FIGURE 1. Eleven texts copied from Ḍogrā paintings: transliteration and explanation—
1. *Kāma Bhairava.* 2. *Citra darasana*, 'Looking at the Picture' (*nāyakā* and *sakhī* with a portrait of the *nāyaka*). 3. *Rāgiṇī Gujarī Dīpakedī bhārajā*, 'Rāgiṇī Gujarī, wife of Dīpak'. 4. *Rāga Bhamarānanda Mālakosedā putra*, 'Rāga Bhamarānanda, son of Mālkos'. 5. *Mahā Lakhamī*, 'The Great Lakṣmī'. 6. *Miāṅ Ghanaseām*, 'Miāṅ Ghanaśyāma'.[3] 7. *Indrajit.* 8. *Śrī Rāmacandra.* 9. *Vibhīṣaṇa* (the three last from drawings of the Rāmāyaṇa series, like Plate XXIV). 10. *Srī Kisane kaḍha Sudāmā āyā*, 'Śrī Krishna rises on the arrival of Sudāmā' (Plate XXIX). 11. *Sohanī Mahīvāl* (an illustration to the well-known Pañjābī romance).

the view otherwise held regarding the place of origin of the group of pictures now under discussion, a point which at first I found very difficult to determine.[4]

Another isolated district is represented in Chambā, which maintained its independence, with a nominal allegiance to Kāshmīr, until the Mughal conquest; it became tributary to the Mughal Empire, but its internal administration was not interfered with, and it escaped Sikh aggression at a later period. 'Whereas', says Dr. Vogel, 'in other and more exposed parts of India one dynasty was quickly ousted by another, new creeds and customs came to supplant the old ones, and successive

[1] A form comparable with *sūraja*, from *sūryya*.

[2] Śāradā and Ṭākrī alphabets will be found in full in the *Pañjābī* and *Western Pahāṛī* volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India.

[3] 'Miān, i.e. Miyāṅ, is the title given to the Rājpūts of the Panjāb Hills. It dates apparently back to the time when the sons of hill chiefs used to stay at the Mughal court, and was, so it seems, originally applied to them exclusively. It has gradually become a caste-name for Hill Rājputs in general.' Vogel, *The Rāṇās of the Panjāb Hills*, J.R.A.S. 1908.

[4] Chiefly because they were originally described to me by certain dealers as 'Tibati' pictures, a term which even now I do not understand; perhaps Tibet is regarded as extending westward up to the Pañjāb plains.

waves of foreign invasion swept away all remembrance of the past, Chambā, engirdled by her snow-clad mountain barriers, has, century after century, retained ancient traditions and institutions which are only now giving way to the irresistible onslaught of Western civilisation.'[1]

I regret, however, that I cannot speak with authority about the painting of Chambā. It may be inferred from various considerations that it is intermediate in character between the Jammu Ḍogrā styles and the more polished schools of Kāŋgṛā. A portrait in the Lahore Museum, in a manner closely resembling that of Plate XXXIV, A, is inscribed in Nāgarī, *Cambevāleka vazīr*. The portrait of Plate XXXIV, A, is inscribed *Rājā Hataf Bandrāl*, indicating an origin in Rāmnagar, before Ranjit Siŋgh dispossessed the Rājput chiefs of Bandrālta, of which Rāmnagar was the capital.



FIGURE 2. *Mālakosedī Rāgiṇī Dhanāsrī* 5. From a Jammu drawing of the 17th century in the collection of Mr. W. Rothenstein. × ⅔.

Of Kuḷū I can say less; it is a valley even more remote, its culture even more local. All that I have seen consists of certain photographs, bought in Sulṭānpur (one with an undeciphered inscription in Ḍogrī or Kuḷūī), purporting to be copies of pictures of the late Kuḷū rājās: these are in the style of Plate XXXV, A.

[1] Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā*, 1911, p. ii. Figure 23 of this monograph shows a portrait painter at work in the State Koṭhī at Brahmor. It is worth mentioning that the wood-carving on the ceiling of the Mirkula temple of Kālī, Udaypur, Chambā (Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plate LXXX), is in a style related to that of the Pahāṛī paintings, and that the characteristic Hindū crown, so common in the Rājput paintings, is found also in the carving; the earliest estimate of its date is the 7th century, but it is probably much later. In any case, the representation of crowns in Rājput paintings is a survival from early times, for the Rājput princes rarely wore crowns, even in the 16th century. The representation of crowns also becomes much rarer in the later works of the Kāŋgṛā district, where there is a general tendency to the relaxation of older conventions.



B. KĀNGṚĀ

It is by examples of the Kāŋgṛā school that the Pahārī schools of painting were first made known.[1] It is certain that Kot Kāŋgṛā has been a great centre of production, but the term Kāŋgṛā must be understood in this work in a wide sense as covering the work of a whole district: and though the Kot Kāŋgṛā type is fairly well defined (e.g. in the *Nala-Damayantī* series, from which a specimen is reproduced on Plate LXII), still I do not know how to place the many dialects of this style, nor how to distinguish the work of other Pahāṛī states, such as Maṇḍi, Suket, Rāmpur, and Paṭyāla, extending eastwards to Garhwāl. Practically nothing is now produced, and of Kot Kāŋgṛā art nothing remains *in situ*. I have seen the ruins of houses formerly occupied by painters, but it is generally agreed that their last traces were wiped out by the earthquake of 1907; and probably all the pictures formerly extant in this fairly accessible district have now been removed and sold. I am informed, however, by Bābu Samarendranāth Gupta, that painters still practise at Guler.

Hiouen Tsang found the old Jalandhar dynasty undivided in the 7th century. Subsequently the Jalandhar rājās were driven into the hills and made Kāŋgṛā (Nagar Kot, the modern Kot Kāŋgṛā) their chief fortress. They long resisted Muhammadan power, but the temple of Nagarkot was plundered by Māhmūd in A.D. 1009. The Kāŋgṛā rājās also yielded to Firoz Tughlak in 1360, and the temple was again plundered, but they were left in possession of the State. In 1556 Akbar permanently occupied Kāŋgṛā, and the chiefs retired to the hills and resisted until 1620; soon after this they became tributaries of the Mughal Empire under Shāh Jahān, being trusted and employed as loyal allies. Kāŋgṛā was held by the Rājputs until 1806, with a Sikh interval from 1774 to 1785. The Sikhs prevailed from 1806 to 1846, when Kāŋgṛā became a part of British India. Ninety-four per cent. of the population remains Hindū to the present day.[2]

The history of Maṇḍi is very similar: it remained under Rājput rule until 1805 (being subject to Kāŋgṛā from 1729), and then, after four years submission to the Gurkhas, it became a Sikh dependence. Ninety-eight per cent. of the population remains Hindū.[3]

The conservatism of ancient manners in Kāŋgṛā is illustrated by the fact that the 'Bull and Horseman' coin type of the Brāhman kings of Ohind (*c.* A.D. 860 to 950) was adopted (amongst others) by the rājās of Kāŋgṛā, and survived in Kāŋgṛā until the beginning of the 17th century.[4]

It is not very easy to arrange the examples of Kāŋgṛā painting historically. I have seen nothing that seems likely to antedate the troublous period which came to an end with the first quarter of the 17th century; but comparatively early works—perhaps about 1700—are to be recognized in the two magnificent and epic renderings of the Mahābhārata gambling scene, reproduced on Plates XXXVI and XXXVII, A. These are evidently by one hand, and in a style which I am a little inclined to associate with Maṇḍi.

In some way related to these is the remarkable picture of the dying Bhīṣma reproduced on Plate XXXVII, B. But I have some doubts about the source of this unique and beautiful work, which may even be Rājasthānī.

Another early work—possibly of Maṇḍi origin—is the Devī picture reproduced on Plate L; this is one of a series illustrating the *Caṇḍī Parva* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and has a red border and inscription in white.

A second group of works which we shall provisionally class with the last as 'Early Kāŋgṛā'—meaning that all these are certainly older than 1750—is represented by the reproductions on Plates XXXVIII–XLII. These are temperamentally as well as technically closely connected, and some of these may be by one and the same hand. Amongst their more conspicuous characteristics are their impressionistic treatment of foliage, the long sprays of the white flowering creepers hanging down from the dark trees; their unstudied and impulsive movement, which becomes a more conscious convention in later works; the summary character of the outline; the straight upper lids of the eyes; and a peculiarly tender, veiled and almost powdery colouring, greys, mauve, browns and sage-greens being more conspicuous than the brilliant colours of later examples. These are, so to say, the

[1] E.g. *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1912.

[2] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Kāŋgṛā.

[3] Ibid., s.v. Maṇḍi.

[4] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 108.

primitives of the typical Kāŋgṛā works of the latter 18th century; with much of their refinement, but greater *naïveté* and passion. They are far removed in spirit from the wild works of Jammu.

A third group that must also for the present be classed as 'Early Kāŋgṛā' is represented in Plates XLIII–XLIX, and includes more than one example of unsurpassed beauty. Its special characters are to be recognized in a much more glowing, but still tender colour, gayer than the last mentioned, but not enamelled like the typical works of the late 18th century; in the more deliberate representation of more gracious movement; and greater self-possession, contrasting with the naïve impulsiveness of the *Rāmāyaṇ* subject of Plate XLII, B, and on the other hand with the agitation so well expressed in the *Nala-Damayantī* drawings, and the *Kāliya Damana* of Plate LIII. The physical type is robust, the eyes not very large or long. The picture borders are plain red, sometimes yellow; occasionally the picture overlaps the border (Plate XLVIII, B); in this respect, and in the occasionally narrow stormy sky there seems to be recognizable a reminiscence of Jammu or Early Rājasthānī mannerisms.

We have now to speak of the Kāŋgṛā style of the last half of the 18th century; this is well represented in Plates LI–LXXV, A, the last two or three of these being perhaps as late as the 19th century. On the whole the Kāŋgṛā style is picturesque and romantic. The figures are now more animated, the line more nervous and fluent; the research of physical charm is deliberate, women are willowy and slender, their eyes very long and curved (not round like those of the third Early Kāŋgṛā group above referred to), and the deep-dyed fingers are delicate and tapering. Colour attains to a wonderful glowing brilliancy, preserved from hardness by its depth and luminosity. The brushwork exhibits a remarkable facility and felicity, many examples (e.g. Plate LIV, B) recalling Ajaṇṭā, yet it is not always infallible, and the latest works (after 1800) show that it is soon to lose its sensitiveness. Trees are represented by rather summary formulae; the architecture is very ornate and much refined, and very definitely post-Shāh-Jahān, one of several features attributable to the close relations maintained between Kāŋgṛā and the Mughal court in the latter part of the 17th century. There is a varied and picturesque treatment of clouds and of sunset effects; very often the figures of gods and angels appear in the sky, travelling in their 'flying machines' (an old motif in Indian art, but not often noticed in Early Rājput); and finally, the borders of the 18th-century Kāŋgṛā pictures are often decorated in various ways, commonly with a frame like that of the pictures reproduced on Plates LVI, LXVIII, often also with dark pink hatching on a lighter pink ground, and sometimes with elaborate flower-spray designs, or inset partridges (*cakor*),—niceties not to be met with in the earlier less ornate productions. Many pictures are designed in oval frames, the spandrels decorated with arabesques (Plate LXXI, A). The late date of the *Nala-Damayantī* series is indicated, amongst other marks, by the introduction of a figure dressed apparently in a military costume of Georgian cut, and also by the very modern aspect of the architecture; nevertheless, the draughtsmanship is often superb, and individual groups are magnificently designed.[1] The lyrical sentiment is flawless;[2] and if any criticism is to be passed upon these late Kāŋgṛā works, it must be that the sentiment is too constantly sweet—and yet it is a great thing to maintain this constant tenderness without ever verging on the sentimental. And even the latest Kāŋgṛā painters did not fail in strength when dealing with the deeds of Devī.[3]

In many cases works of the Kāŋgṛā school are accompanied by the texts which they illustrate. Thus, the frequent sets of the Eight Nāyakās are in several cases inscribed with the appropriate verses from the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dāsa, which seems to have been very well known; such inscriptions are always in Nāgarī characters, a pleasing contrast to the almost illegible Ṭākrī of Jammu. Amongst other Hindī poets whose verses are quoted, I have observed Mati Rāma, Kālidāsa, Baṃsīdhara, Rāmagunī, and Gaŋg.[4] Amongst the vernacular poems illustrated must be mentioned the *Rāmāyaṇa* in some version not that of Tulasī Dāsa; the romance of *Nala-Damayantī*,

[1] E.g. *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plates VI, VII, X, 1–3.

[2] E.g. ibid., Plate X, 3.

[3] E.g. ibid., Plates XVI, 1 and XVII.

[4] Mati Rāma Tripāṭhi of Ṭikavāpūr, fl. *c.* A.D. 1650–82 (Grierson, *Vernacular Literature of Hindustān*, p. 62); Kālidāsa (? Tribedī of Bānpura in the Doab, b. *c.* A.D. 1693); Baṃsīdhara of Udaipur, fl. A.D. 1735; and probably Gaŋgā Parsād of Supāūlī, b. 1833 (on a loose leaf, doubtless detached from a very modern work).

It may be mentioned here that I have no reason to think

in some recension other than the original Sanskrit; the *Hammīr Haṭh*, and others referred to in Part II, Chapter VI. Occasionally it happens that the Hindī quotations are supplemented by a few words of Pañjābī prose. Sanskrit quotations are also common, as in Jammu, where the acquaintance with Hindī poetry seems much slighter. It is interesting to note that amongst the works illustrated is the *Gītā Govinda* of Jayadeva.

Scarcely to be differentiated from late Kāŋgṛā art, and probably that of intermediate States, such as Paṭyāla, is the local school of Garhwāl, which happens to be rather well known owing to the fact that there have come into the market a number of paintings by or attributed to Mola Rāma, together with a miscellaneous collection of earlier and later drawings. These paintings included more than one set of *nāyakās*, a *Rukmiṇī-maŋgala*, the three examples here produced on Plates LIV, A, LXV, LXXIV, B, and other characteristic Pahāṛī works, as well as a number of typical Mughal drawings,[1] several of the middle 17th century. This painter—and poet—attains a rather fictitious importance owing to the fact that his is almost the only name of a Pahāṛī painter yet known.[2]

Here, beside the three works which we are obliged to call Garhwālī, we may include as Kāŋgṛā-Garhwāl one or two others very nearly related, and of uncertain origin (though obtained in Amritsar, where it is very rare to find any but Jammu and Kāŋgṛā works). The differences are slight as regards actual formulae, but the Garhwāl works on the whole are 'late' in all senses of the word, and distinctly past the zenith of the Kāŋgṛā style. It will be seen, for example, in the reproductions on Plate LXXIV, B, that the outline is little felt, and the general effect is rather theatrical, and the sentiment is insincere. In the Śaiva subject of Plate LXV, however, the feeling is both tender and genuine. Incidentally it is worth noting that nearly all very late examples from Kāŋgṛā or Garhwāl are alike in the drawing of the hands, of which the fingers are sharply pointed and drawn with little feeling; this appears even in the beautiful *Kāliya Damana* of Plate LII, and also in Plates LXV and LXXII, A, a marked contrast, for example, with Plate XLIII.

The court painters of Kāŋgṛā and the neighbouring Pahāṛī states in the 18th and early 19th centuries were also occupied with portraiture. One finds inscribed on these portraits the names of the Rājās of Guler, Sukhet, Maṇḍi, Paṭyāla, &c. Much of this art belongs to the 19th century, and it is well represented in the Lahore Museum. Exceptional works only, such as the *Young Warrior* of *Indian Drawings, I*, Plate XIII, are of high rank, but several other examples have dignity and character. The group of goldsmiths here reproduced on Plate LXXV, A, is a good example of more facile and less reflective, but still very interesting drawing. Wherever Sikh power prevailed, the Pahāṛī school of portraiture develops into Sikh with little change.

the Maithilī poet Vidyāpati (*fl.* first half of the 15th century) was known in Kāŋgṛā; but inasmuch as the Pahāṛī painters and all the Vaiṣṇava poets are concerned with a single group of ideas, I have found it very appropriate to illustrate an edition of Vidyāpati in English (*Vidyāpati*, translated by A. Coomaraswamy and Arun Sen, 1915) with reproductions of Rājput paintings, chiefly Kāŋgṛā, and in some cases to explain the subject-matter of the paintings here reproduced, by reference to Vidyāpati's songs.

[1] Some of these are reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plates XX, 2 and XXIV; all in my collection are preserved in volume v of mounted originals.

[2] The following facts are available about Mola Rāma (recorded by Mukandi Lāl, of Garhwāl, in the 'Modern Review' for October, 1909, and from private information). Mola Rāma was the fifth in descent of a family of Delhi (originally Rājasthānī) Rājput artists, who fled with Prince Salem, nephew of Aurangzīb, to seek shelter with the then chief of Garhwāl, Fateh Siŋgh. The latter surrendered Prince Salem, but retained the artists as court painters, giving them a *jagīr* of sixty villages and a fee of Rs 5 daily; their names were Shāmdās and Kehardās. Mola Rāma was born A.D. 1760, and died in 1833. From the following text inscribed on a picture (a girl on a terrace, with a peacock) he appears to have composed poetry already at 15:

Dohā: Kahā hazāra kahā lakha haiṅ arba kharba dhana grāma:
Samjhai Mola Rāma to sarada (= *suhṛda*) *sudeha ināma.*
Saṁvat 1832 *sāla Phālguna sudī* 5: *Subhamastu.*

'What are thousands and lakhs, or millions of gold and villages? Mola Rāma finds his reward in good-will and well-being. *Saṁvat*, 1832 (A.D. 1775), the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phālgun: well be it!'

Mola Rāma was followed by his son Jvāla Rāma and his grandson Atmā Rāma, who both painted. The *jagīr* was continued by the Gurkha rulers of Garhwāl, but discontinued under the British régime. The great-grandson Balak Rāma Sah, without encouragement or patronage (the fate of most artists in British India and many in Native States), being in poor circumstances, has disposed of many of the family drawings. These include those above referred to, and some older, 17th century Mughal examples (*Indian Drawings*, XX. 2 and XXIV). It is said that pictures by Mola Rāma and other Garhwāl painters are still preserved in the *toṣi khāna* (treasury) of Tehri Garhwāl (still a Native State).

The painting of Paṭyāla is known to me only by the fact that I obtained thence an elaborate picture of Śiva and Pārvatī in 18th-century Kāŋgṛā style (and of course possibly of Kāŋgṛā origin), and by the reference in the *Hammīr Haṭh* of Candra Śekhara, where it is stated by the poet that his poem is based on a series of pictures preserved in the rājā's library.

Because the Kāŋgṛā art of the latter 18th century is almost over-ripe and leans a little towards the romantic, it must not be inferred that it does not afford us many splendid and noble works. There are few Rājput paintings of any type superior to the *Kāliya Damana* of Plate LIII or the *Damayantī Svayamvara* of Plate LXII. In the *Kāliya Damana* the characteristic agitation is entirely appropriate to the subject, and it is well balanced and corrected by the confident power of the boyish Krishna. Two types of movement, beside that of Krishna himself, are well differentiated, the violent astonishment and anxiety of Krishna's friends on land, and the more graceful and very humble worship of the *nāginīs* in the whirlpool. Nothing could be more direct than the so straightly outstretched arms of the second *nāginī* on Krishna's left, or could exceed the humility of her that lays her head upon his feet. What is most noble and alluring in these works is their freedom from all self-consciousness; none of the figures is aware that she is overlooked, but every action is spontaneous and impulsive, and the whole energy of being enters into every movement. And thus the human figures of the Pahāṛī painters are veritably god-like, in the sense of Bharata,[1] who says that the actions of the gods spring from the natural disposition of the mind, while those of men depend upon the conscious working of the will.

Perhaps I may digress here to point out one of the most striking characteristics of the Indian epic, that both sides are so fairly represented. For example in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, nothing is more sympathetically expressed than the grief of Mandodarī, wife of Rāvaṇa, when he is slain by Rāma, and nothing more chivalrous than Rāma's comforting. So here, the love of the *nāginīs* for their lord is rendered with even nearer sympathy than the anxiety of the people of Braja; and in them also is realized the Kāŋgṛā ideal of feminine loveliness, willowy, fair, serene, and passionate—a type still to be found in Kāŋgṛā by those whom the pictures have prepared to recognize it.

Another work of unique beauty is the *Cowdust* of Plate LI. There are many ways of representing pastoral subjects: the secular fashion of Watteau, who represents country life as a desirable environment for picnics,—the noble realism of Millet, who represents it as the field of labour,—and the transfiguring idealism of popular festivals and mystic art, where everything is perfected by loving imagination. The first is a pretence, the second an attitude of resignation, the third is 'the imitation of things as they ought to be'. It is in this last way that the Vaiṣṇava inspiration illumines the field and village life of Hindustān, and discovers in everyday events the image of events in heaven. In this picture of the returning herd, the Hindū adoration of cows and the local attachments of the village world—the elders gravely conversing, the girls gaily dressed, the piping herdsmen, the eager and pushing cows—'the dun, the white, the black'—all are represented; and all turns upon the presence of Krishna, who was known to the milkmaids only as one of the young herdsmen. Thus the painter has communicated in his own language an intuition identical with that of a little verse included in the Pañjābī tale of Hīr and Rāñjhā:

'When they troop home, our tiny street
Wears beauty like a diadem,
Though mean enough before.'

How fortunate the painter who was asked to express such ideas, and who inherited a tradition of accomplishment and technical resource amply sufficient for his purpose! The modern artist is less happy, for he is left to find and to solve his own problems; he is not asked to solve the problems of the race, and he must spend half a life in finding for himself a suitable technique.

It is interesting to compare the last-mentioned masterpiece with the very similar, and also beautiful sketch of Plate LII, perhaps by the same hand or by a pupil. It often happens that the

[1] Bharata, *Nāṭya-śāstra*, II, 5:

Devānāṃ mānasī sṛṣṭir gṛhesu'pavaneṣu ca
Yatna-bhāvā-'bhinirvṛttāḥ sarve bhāvās tu mānuṣāḥ.

half-completed works are more impressive than the finished picture; but in comparing these one sees that completion by a master hand need not involve the slightest loss of inspiration. These two examples, and other pairs such as Plates LIII, LIV, A, and many more examples not here illustrated, very well exemplify how the same subject can be treated without monotony again and again. There is a close analogy between the set theme of the picture, and the set form of a *rāga*; in each case a skeleton, or as the Indians say, the trunk of the tree, is given, and each artist must add the leaves and branches himself. Just as no song is ever exactly repeated, so no picture; but each fresh rendering is closely related to the others. This is a theory of art entirely differing from the modern conception of professional art; there each subject treated by a master, is once for all done with, and no other artist dare deal with it, lest he should be accused of plagiarism or lack of originality. Thus one is misled to think of art as a treasury of masterpieces by men of exceptional genius. But Hindū art, both hieratic and vernacular, has always been more or less a national art, determined by the wish to have certain groups of ideas constantly re-presented.

The Rājasthānī and Pahāṛī areas are divided by the Pañjāb plains, from Delhi to Lahore; and during the Mughal period this area contributed little to art, for all the energies of the Mughal impulse were directed to the glorification of the court, and the life of this court had little to do with the life of the people. Even the sacred city of Mathurā was not exempt from the iconoclasm of Aurangzīb, and there is no evidence that any special school of paintings flourished there, except in the fact that, like Jaipur, it is still one of the chief centres where are produced the well-known *sāñjhās* or paper stencils, of which examples are given here in Figures 10, 11, used for making pavement pictures in coloured powders, on the occasion of the Dasehra festival.

But towards the middle of the 18th century the Sikh power began to be consolidated in the districts of Amritsar and Jalandhar, and to be established in some parts of the hills in the early part of the 19th; and there exists a corresponding group of paintings, ranging from about A. D. 1750 to 1850, which may be described as of the Sikh school. A majority of these are portraits or portrait groups. A fine example, expressive of the true Sikh dignity, is reproduced on Plate LXXVI. Many of the Kāŋgṛā Sikh paintings are most easily to be recognized by the fact that in them the faces of young men are unshaven, a peculiarity that never appears in Pahāṛī art executed for Hindū patrons;[1] an example of this Kāŋgṛā Sikh style of the early 19th century is reproduced by Mr. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate LXIX. The Sikh art is also to be recognized in various rather crude 'portraits' of the Gurus, which are still produced in Amritsar, and better, in some half-obliterated fragments of wall-painting, about a century old, within the precincts of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Most likely the Sikhs gave occasional patronage also to similar work in Kāshmīr, where I have found little trace of any older or purer tradition. It may be mentioned also that some copies of the 'Granth Sāhib' or Sikh scriptures are magnificent examples of austere calligraphy; and I have seen one fairly well illustrated, said to have been prepared in Kāshmīr. On the whole we may say of Sikh painting that while a few very distinguished examples are to be found, the greater part, compared with what has gone before, whether Rājput or Mughal, is decadent.

There can be little doubt that Rājput painting, like vernacular poetry, had definitely passed its zenith before the beginning of the 19th century. For on the whole, and exceptions apart, the later Kāŋgṛā is to the earlier work, as the art of Shāh Jahān to that of Jahāŋgīr and Akbar. But wise patronage in the 19th century could still, and especially in Jaipur and Kāŋgṛā, have preserved much that was worth saving. British occupation has always implied the discontinuance of patronage and the more rapid destruction of tradition; but the vernacular art of Hindustān, which had flourished throughout the Mughal period, was already declining at the time when it was first affected by Western influences. These influences never even produced a hybrid official art like some forms of Mughal, for the British have not known how to evoke such an art; or perhaps art could no longer persist under the shadow of Industrialism. However that may be, and even if we excuse the moderns from deliberate destruction, we must admit that Western education, ideals of administrative efficiency, and industrial competition, have hastened the end of traditional culture throughout the East, and nowhere more conspicuously than in India.

[1] Such as the *Young Warrior* of *Indian Drawings*, I, Plate XIII.

PART II

SUBJECT-MATTER OF RĀJPUT PAINTINGS

CHAPTER I

THE KRISHNA LĪLĀ

A RELIGIOUS ideal of marriage, where the duties of the home are a woman's vocation, is the Hindū social norm, the centre upon which all family honour depends, and the very basis of social stability. A wife is *sahadharmacārinī*, 'she who is associated with a husband for the fulfilment of social and religious duties'. It is necessary to realize this spiritual status of wifehood if the complex *motifs* of the Krishna Līlā are to be rightly understood, for these can have no meaning where the ties of duty are regarded lightly.

The normal Indian love-story—as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Nala-Damayantī*, *Sāvitrī*, *Satī*, the *Meghadūtā*, and innumerable folk-tales—begins with marriage and turns on the subsequent devotion of the wife or heroism of the husband. It is, indeed, a rigid canon of dramatic art, that the wife of another cannot be made the subject of a love intrigue. This is not a matter of puritanical and artificial censorship, or of what is sometimes called 'decency'; for a play may be very outspoken without the least offence, and yet to base its whole development upon the unfaithfulness of a wife would even to-day be so repugnant to prevailing taste as to court immediate failure.

The Indian marriage is a matter of religious and social duty, a debt that all owe, and all should pay. There is little free choice either of wife or husband, and therefore little courtship.[1] What each expects from marriage is not primarily pleasure, but the development of character in the fulfilment of normal duties. That two persons are thus united for purposes beyond their own immediate gratification is probably the reason that the Indian marriage is, in general, happier than the European marriage of free choice. The glamour which attaches in Europe to romantic love and courtship, in India illumines the experience of wifehood. Marriage for a woman, like a man's *sva-dharma*, is a vocation, an almost nun-like dedication; and for this reason, to this day, the home remains the centre of the inner life; the harem is that one sanctuary where the spirit does not need its defensive armour.

The Hindū social norm, of which this moral ideal of marriage is an inseparable part, finds full expression in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and this work, at the time of which we now write, had become, in the Hindī version of Tulasī Dāsa and other less famous renderings, the Bible of Hindustān. This *Rāmāyaṇa* is also the subject of a fair proportion of the Vaiṣṇava Rājput paintings (e. g. Plates XXIII, XLII, B, LX). Among the pictures reproduced here, however, the ideal of wifehood finds most complete expression in some of the Śaiva works (Plates XLIII, XLV); and most of all in the devotion of the wife of the *nāga* Kāliya (Plate LIII), with the thought that better is death itself than to live on when the husband is slain.

But the essential inspiration of Rājput art, the law of its being, is rather religious than moral.[2]

[1] But mark the old heroic *svayamvara*, or 'own-choice', represented on Plate LXII.

[2] That is to say, its preoccupations are more often, though not, of course, exclusively, 'Dionysic' rather than 'Apollonian'. The meaning of the Krishna Līlā is often deliberately misrepresented by those who are interested in the disparagement of Hindū thought. But only the merely learned will share the error of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who compares in all seriousness (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, &c.*, p. 87) the ethical significance of the Krishna Līlā and of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, oblivious to the fact

Rājput art is constantly preoccupied with the one sentiment of *bhakti*, passionate devotion to God in the person of His Avatār Śrī Krishna; and this Krishna is constantly represented as betraying the milkmaids of Braja—the souls of men—from their lawful allegiance. The Irish poet ('A. E.') has rightly understood these scriptures when he says:

I saw the King pass lightly from the beauty that he had betrayed.
I saw him pass from love to love; and yet the pure allowed His claim
To be the purest of the pure, thrice holy, stainless, without blame.

That the conflict between love and duty may be made quite unmistakable, Rādhā generally, and her companion *sakhīs* always, are represented to be the wives of the Braja herdsmen. It is when they abandon the illusion (*māyā*) of family, deserting their homes and their duties to follow the flute of Krishna, that they 'attain the fruit of their birth', and have chosen that good path that makes them free. That flute is the sword that destroys their social peace:

The blowing of that flute diffuses poison through my frame,
Insistently I hear it sounding,
And then my soul and body melt in fear.

It is the call of the infinite, the sound of the camel bell, the command to leave father and mother and houses and lands, and 'follow Me'.

It should be needless to point out how closely this symbolism is related to that of Christ, who also condemned the 'illusion of family' when he said, 'I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother;' and again when he asked, 'Who is my mother, or my brethren?' and disparaged *dharma* when he said to Martha, 'Thou art careful, and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.'

The desertion of husband and home by the milkmaids, which seems at first so foreign to Indian modes of thought, in reality became inevitably the accepted symbol of the soul's self-surrender to the heavenly Bridegroom, just because such a sacrifice of status, duty, and attachments, the casting away of name and fame and self-respect involved in adulterous or secret love, is the greatest sacrifice that a Hindū woman can imagine or make.[1] In Vaiṣṇava poetry we hear the constant refrain, 'I am become a harlot for Thy sake'; this could not have been said in a society that regarded adultery lightly.

In some cases, however, as in the songs of Vidyāpati, Rādhā is a *svakīyā* heroine, whose disgrace is that of maiden-yielding, rather than of wifely unfaithfulness; but the principle of the surrender of family honour (*kula kī lāja kī tajava*) remains the same. When Krishna receives the milkmaids, it is not because they have lived as respectable members of a well-ordered society, but on the contrary, because they 'have abandoned regard for the world and the Vedas, as a Vairāgī abandons his home'.[2]

Those only who know by direct experience the nature of the inner life will fully appreciate the universal significance of the Rāsa Līlā; we can only say that this mystery is 'based upon undying and eternal truths, upon the permanent relations between Jīva and Īśvara. The heart of man is the seat of this Līlā, which can be reproduced at all times, in the heart of every real Bhākta. . . . The Līlā is constantly performed in Goloka, and it is reproduced over parts of Brahmāṇḍa, according to the will of Krishna.'[3]

However deeply men may believe in action and in morality, there must ultimately come a day

that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is pseudo-historical, and is designed to be a social ideal, while the Krishna Līlā is symbolic and eternal, and Brindāban is not this world, but the heart of man. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells how man by a righteous life may approach to a nearer union with the Lord: the Krishna Līlā explains the very nature of union accomplished. These are different matters.

[1] 'That is why love as a passion, in the big meaning of the word, was invented for, and in, an aristocratic community—where convention and abstinence are most severe.' Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*.

[2] *Prema Sāgara* (= *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*), ch. xxxiii. A Vairāgī is a homeless ascetic.

[3] Purnendu Narayan Sinha, *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Benares, 1901, pp. 314, 315.

for each when it will be realized that these are but a game and its rules, which the greater life transcends: it is then that reputation becomes of no significance, the soul is made *parakīyā*, and goes forth on *abhisāra* into the darkness of the unconditioned, to yield herself to Him who waits at the place of trysting. And though the soul—Rādhā, Sophia, Besse, or by whatever name we speak of her—may return to the world and its *dharma*, she will attain at last to that *bhāva-sammiḻana* or inner union which is the *sva-rūpa* or 'own-form' of Krishna, and knows no severance. The momentary ecstasies and illuminations which this life affords us are intimations of that perpetual reality which we have temporarily forgotten. This is the significance of the Vaiṣṇava symbolism, which finds such full expression in Rājput art.

It is well to remember that the Krishna Līlā, as the Vaiṣṇava commentators expressly insist, is not an historical event. No doubt the whole story, as such, is founded on pastoral folk-lore and tradition, perhaps originally 'secular'; but the Vaiṣṇavas were neither historians nor archaeologists, and the Krishna Līlā of Vaiṣṇava art is eternal. As Nīlakaṇṭha expresses it: 'Devakī and other names are merely allegorical, bearing an esoteric meaning. The narration is not the real point.' In other words, the names in the Krishna Līlā are like 'Jerusalem' and other names employed by Blake and the Western mystics to indicate states. Gokula is the earthly counterpart of Goloka, the highest station of the plane of Vishnu, and the occult centre known as the thousand-petalled lotus, of which Kabīr sings:

> *Do not go seeking the garden of flowers! for the garden of flowers is in your heart—*
> *Take there your seat on the thousand petals of the lotus, there behold the Perfect Beauty.*

Hence it will be seen that when we speak of such and such a Vaiṣṇava picture as illustrating an episode in the life of Krishna—although, perhaps, most Vaiṣṇavas have believed as much in an historical Krishna, as the Christians in an historical Christ—yet in effect we do not use the word in any realistic sense, but refer only to the expression of an idea or an emotion according to a given image.

The worship of Krishna in the Rājput period was no new element in Indian religion. The doctrine of *bhakti*, devotion, is already set forth in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, probably some centuries before the birth of Christ. Vaiṣṇavism was the chief faith of the Guptas. Scenes from the Krishna Līlā—viz. the episodes of lifting Mt. Govardhana and of the defeat of Kāliya—are represented on a sculptured stele of about the 4th century A.D. at Maṇḍor in Marwar,[1] and also amongst the 8th century sculptures at Māmallapuram. Early Vaiṣṇavism, however, consists mainly in the worship of the Vāsudeva Krishna of the epics; the *gestes* of the child Krishna, and his relations with the *gopīs* are first mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṃsa*, although it is clear that the child-Krishna stories were well known already before the Christian era. The great work of the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava revival, initiated by Rāmānuja, as developed by Rāmānanda, Kabīr, and Tulasī Dāsa, on the one hand established the cult of Rāma and glorified him as the model of a human king and the avatār of God; and as developed by Nimbārka, and the great poets Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, and Caṇḍidās, emphasized the identification of Gopāla Krishna with the older Vāsudeva, and brought into prominence the stories of Rādhā and the milkmaids, which are the symbols of Vaiṣṇava mysticism and the main theme of Rājpuṭ art. Although this identification of a popular pastoral divinity with the Vāsudeva of the epics cannot have been a sudden event, nevertheless the great development after the 11th century, of this *bhākta* cult of Rādhā and Krishna—in some respects the most modern and most universal development of Indian religion—has all the force of a new revelation, compelling and inspiring a whole cycle of expression in poetry and painting, music and drama.

Certain of the Krishna mysteries, such as the Rāsa Maṇḍala,[2] may have a very remote ancestry; perhaps an esoteric Vaiṣṇava tradition remained more or less secret until in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the subsequent mediaeval Sanskrit and Hindī literature of devotion it became the leading theme

[1] *Archaeological Survey of India, Ann. Rep.*, 1905–6, pp. 135 ff. and *A. S. Rep. Western India*, 1906–7, p. 33.

[2] Closely resembling some of the early Christian mysteries, and possibly of common origin. Cf. G. R. S. Mead, *The Hymn of Jesus* ('Echoes of the Gnosis'), London and Benares, 1907.

of religious art. On the other hand, there are also many elements of a Spring Festival character, and perhaps of sexual magic, which we must consider to have been reinterpreted when the pastoral Divinity of the Abhīras or Gujaras was first accepted into Brāhmaṇic culture. But we must understand that none of this development had a pedantic character; it is determined only by the fact that a school of inspired mystic poets found in the matter of the Brindābana Līlā just that material best suited to the expression of their intuitions of divine love; the poetry of the Krishna Līlā knows no distinction of form and content. Whatever had been known or hidden before, the Vaiṣṇava poets interpreted anew in the light of their own ardent experience.

Mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism differed in form from classic Hinduism chiefly in the universality of its appeal, in laying stress upon feeling rather than knowledge, in its acceptance of this everyday world and the inner experience of every man as the fullest possible revelation of Divinity, and nearer than any ritual; and finally in its ultimately popular symbolism. These conditions in turn determined the use of the language of the home and the village, rather than the classic Sanskrit, by the later writers of Vaiṣṇava scripture. Just as the language of the English Bible completes and crowns the evolution of English, so that of the Vaiṣṇava poets—Mīrā Bāī, Vidyāpati, Caṇḍidās, Kabīr, Vallabha, and Caitanya, with many others, both original poets and interpreters of the Epics and Purāṇas—created and moulded the dialects of Hindustān, which are developed from the earlier Prākrits as English from Anglo-Saxon.

But the cult of Rādhā and Krishna found expression in other languages than those of poetry; and up to the beginning of the 19th century there flourished, and even now survive, now here, now there, in Hindustān, schools of painting, music, and popular drama inseparably connected with the art of the poets. All were alike engaged in interpreting the same ideas; hence it is, for example, that the paintings of Kāṅgṛā and Jammu, and the songs of Vidyāpati are so identical in content, although most likely without direct contact; and amongst the Pahāṛī paintings we actually find illustrations to the *Gītā Govinda* of Jayadeva, which we might not rightly interpret without a knowledge of the original poem.

The work of the poets is thus of great importance to the student of this art; to appreciate the purely aesthetic qualities of the paintings, it is not, indeed, necessary, but it throws a great light upon the meaning, and renders more intelligible the ἦθος of their works, and it enables the critic to show that the painters, who depended so closely on the literary *motifs*, were fully conscious of the intention of their work. That the painters did not paint to amuse themselves or their patrons, but to express ideas with which they were deeply preoccupied, that they well understood what significance attached to the courtship of Rādhā and Krishna, the Rāsa Līlā, and the departure to Mathurā, all this is not only clearly demonstrated by internal evidence, but also by the relation of the painting to the literature. This relation is recognizable not only in the common subject-matter, but quite as clearly in form. For much of the Vaiṣṇava poetry consists of verse of only two lines, and each couplet must be complete in itself, 'an entire picture—frame and all,' and this poetry is an art of the 'most delicate miniature painting',[1] very like the Japanese 'epigram'. Where literature is thus pure art—and Indian rhetoricians rank narrative poetry very low, or exclude it from the category of poetry altogether—the relations of poetry and painting can be much closer and deeper than where poetry is thought of as essentially descriptive or didactic.

It will be useful, then, in the following pages to describe, even if briefly, the subject-matter of some of the more typical paintings, in order that the modern spectator may share a little of the various lore which the Hindū *rasika* takes for granted. We shall speak first of the Krishna Līlā, principally as related in the tenth branch of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[2] Most of the episodes described in some detail are illustrated by the reproduced examples; and of the rest, none are referred to of

[1] Grierson, *Satsāiyā of Bihārī*, 1896, p. 9. That what we have said of the sources and inspiration of the Rājput paintings is equally true of the poetry, and how each contrasts with the *śāstrīya* art of the Sanskrit age is plainly indicated also in the following remark of the same writer: 'One reason for the excellence of these little poems is their almost invariable truth to nature, and the cause of this is that from the first they have been rooted in village life and language, and not in the pandit-fostering circles of the towns.'

[2] The scripture of highest authority amongst Vaiṣṇavas; easily accessible to English readers in Frederick Pincott's translation of the *Prema Sāgara* (London, 1897).

which I have not seen at least one picture. Hindī texts[1] are quoted wherever such are met with on the original drawings; the majority of these texts are by poets not identified.

The Birth of Krishna: Devakī and Vasudeva are manacled in an upper chamber, the lower entrance to which is kept by armed guards. The divine child stands before them in four-armed manifestation.

Krishna conveyed to Brindāban: The child is carried across the river by Vasudeva. This episode is also the *motif* of a familiar brass toy, representing Krishna supported in a cup, having a siphon so arranged that when water is poured into the cup, it never rises above the child's feet.

Krishna's baby pranks: He steals butter, &c.[2] (Some episodes are illustrated which are not mentioned in the most familiar texts, e. g. the daily bath of Krishna and Balarāma, Krishna seeing the moon reflected in a basin, &c.)

Krishna releases Nal and Kūvar from their tree-forms.

Krishna slays various demons sent against him, as Bakāsura.

The Divine Cowherd. From the time that Krishna was eight years old he went out every day with the cowherds, to graze the cows beside the Jamunā. They spent the day in games, and returned with the cows in the evening. This return at the time of *Cowdust* is represented in the picture reproduced on Plate LI. The group of cows reminds us of a description in the *Prema Sāgara*, when it is related that the herdsmen called to the cows, 'black, white, grey, purple, brown, and blue', and they ran up lowing and snorting: 'at that time there was such beauty as if clouds of many hues had been gathered together from every quarter'. *Gopīs* who have been to the *ghāṭ* to fill their water-jars, and others crowding the balcony windows,[3] fix their eyes on Krishna, who walks behind the cows in yellow *dhotī* and peacock crown, playing his flute. He is surrounded by other lads, some playing instruments of music. The cows are streaming through the gate of the inner garth, in the upper part of which we see Nand Jī seated with other elders in a *barādari*, engaged in talk. This is a work typical of the best Kāŋgṛā craftsmanship, above all in purity and gaiety of colour; the ivory whites, however, are too much yellowed in the otherwise excellent reproduction. This work also illustrates a frequent but by no means constant feature in Kāŋgṛā art, that is to say an absence of composition, in the sense of grouping around a central figure. The subject is not a single figure, but a link of thought, connecting many figures and many objects in a mutual relation.[4] In this way *Cowdust* represents an idea rather than an event; the idea is that of Krishna's daily life in the little town of Gokula. He is the Divine Herdsman, an unknown, though beloved, god in the midst of men.

In the Tagore collection will be found an almost identical version of the present subject. Another closely related, and perhaps by the same hand, but unfinished, is reproduced on Plate LII.

Kāliya damana, the conquest of the *nāga* Kāliya. A poisonous *nāga*, or semi-human hydra, named Kāliya, lived in the Kālīdah, a certain whirlpool of the river Jamunā, where alone he could avoid his hereditary enemy, the Garuda. Such was the *nāga's* venom, that the water of the whirlpool continually boiled, and banks of the river were wasted and barren; on one occasion the cows and herdsmen of Brindāban had already been poisoned. Śrī Krishna accordingly resolved to kill the serpent. He sprang into the whirlpool and disappeared. Then the other herd-boys feared for his life, and one went running to Brindāban, crying out: 'Śrī Krishna has jumped into the very whirlpool

[1] The spelling of the originals is strictly adhered to.

[2] My collection, vol. viii, f. 62.

[3] This is a *motif* familiar in Indian literature and plastic art from an early period, e. g. in the bas-reliefs of Sāñchī and Bharhut (Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, Plate XVI; Havell, *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, Plate III, A); the paintings of Ajaṇṭā (India Society, *Frescoes of Ajanta*, Plates XXIV, XXVI), and in the works of Aśvaghoṣa (*Buddhacarita*, iii, 13–24—where the lotus faces of fair women leaning from the windows suggest that the walls of the houses are decked with veritable flowers), and Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṃsa*, vii, 5–12—the same figure). In passages of this kind the unity and continuity of the classic tradition, which we have already (p. 14) remarked in structure, is equally recognized in ornament. Cf. also p. 15, n. 2.

[4] Also in Japanese art: Sei-chi Taki, *Three Essays on Oriental Painting*, London, 1910, p. 4—'the centre of a picture is not found in any single individual object, for the guiding principle of the synthesis is expressed in the mutual relations of all the objects treated . . . the inevitable outcome of stress laid almost exclusively on subjective ideas.' The same peculiarity is also noticeable at Ajantā, where it is often associated with continuous narration, a method which likewise reappears in Rājput art and is here illustrated in Plate LXIII. Cf. Arthur Symons, *William Blake*, 1907, p. 213.

of Kālī'. Then Rohiṇī, Yaśodā, and Nand, with the herdsmen and milkmaids, rose and ran, and falling and stumbling in their anxiety, they came to the river bank; Yaśodā went forward as if she would fall into the water herself. Then it was seen that Kāliya had coiled himself round Krishna's body to crush him. But Krishna sprang up and mounted on Kāliya's head, and assuming the weight of the Three Worlds, he danced on the serpent's hoods. Then Kāliya began to die; he put forth his tongues, and streams of blood poured from his mouths. He perceived that he was overcome by an avatār of the Eternal Man, for no other could have resisted the poison; so he abandoned the hope of life, and was still. At this point Kāliya's wife, with other *nāginīs*, worshipped Śrī Krishna, with folded hands and bent head: 'Pity me, Mahārājā,' she said, 'and please release this one, or if not, then slay me with him, for death is better for a woman than to live when her husband is slain.' Kāliya also made submission and prayed to be forgiven; he was allowed to depart with the *nāginīs* to Ramanaka Dīpa, and assured that the mark of Krishna's feet upon his head would protect him from the attacks of Garuḍa for ever. (It is interpreted that Kālīya with his hundred hoods is the lifetime of one birth; he could not be killed, but only banished from Brindāban; this is the overcoming of death for those who have received Eternal Life.)

The Kāliya-damana is a favourite subject of the Pahāṛī painters.[1] An example of peculiar beauty is reproduced in Plate LIII. The representation exactly follows the above description: in the water, Krishna is standing victorious upon the *nāga's* hoods, while the *nāginīs* bending to his feet are praying for the life of their lord; Nanda, Yaśodā, and all the *gopas* and *gopīs* are assembled on the bank, with gestures of fear and wonder. The colouring of the original is extraordinarily rich and pure, but some of this is lost in the reproduction; the general effect towards the left is too green, and in the centre too pink.

Another version of the same subject, in a nearly related Pahāṛī style (Garhwāl), is given in Plate LIV, A. But the action is here less exalted, and the actors far more conscious. A third, and more provincial and popular treatment is given in Plate XLIX, A.

I have another good version, an outline drawing similar in composition to Plate LIII, but Krishna is wrapped in the coils of the *nāga*, and has not yet established his supremacy. Another very rough and popular sketch represents the young Krishna welcomed back to safety by Nand and Yaśodā, while the *nāgas* are departing from the whirlpool for Ramanaka Dīpa; in another part of the same drawing is indicated the return to Brindāban. The following text, a *stuti* or hymn of praise addressed by women to Krishna, is copied from a Kāliya-damana picture seen in Amritsar:

कालिय विषधर गंजन जन रंजन ए ।
यदुकुल नलिन दिनेश्ा जय जयदेव हरे ॥
हे देव हे हरिजी तु सें जय युक्त हश्री ।
कालीय ये नाग तिसदे गंजन करणेवाले हो ॥
जन जे लोक तिन्हादे रंजन कर्त्ता हो ।
यदुकुल रूप यघे तिन्हादे कमल प्रकाशे की सूर्य्य हो ॥ [2]

(Sanskrit:) 'O venomous Kāliya's conqueror, joy of the people!
Sun of the lotus of the Yadus, Victory! Jayadeva! Hari!
(Pañjābī:) O Deva, O Lord Hari, be victory yoked to Thee!
Who didst lower the pride of this Kāliya Nāga,
O Giver of Bliss to the people of all Three Worlds!
Born in the shape of a Yadu, the sun that makes their lotus bright.'

Copper and brass images of the same subject are often met with.

The Kāliya-damana also forms the theme of a well-known Hindī poem, the *Nāga-līlā*.

[1] An early representation appears on the Maṇḍor stele (see p. 28); and there is an interesting Javanese example, perhaps of the 10th century, in the Ethnographisches Museum at Leiden (Juynboll, *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums*, Bd. V, pp. 64, 65—wrongly described as Rāma struggling with Rāvaṇa).

[2] The two lines of Sanskrit are taken from the first *sarga* of the *Gītā Govinda* of Jayadeva; what follows is a Pañjābī translation.

Krishna's flute. The sound of Krishna's flute, which troubles the hearts of the milkmaids, is the voice of Eternity heard by the dwellers in Time. When Krishna plays thereon, it rains delight, resounding like a cloud; the gods and sages attend with their wives, and are so fascinated therewith that they stand as still as painted images; it is something more than a flute. One drawing[1] represents nine *gopīs* seated in a house, bending and sighing; Krishna is seated without, playing his flute. One of the *gopīs* says to the others:

(क.) ॥ सुनति हो कहा भजिजाऊ घेरें फस जायगी मैन के वानन मौं ॥
एं वंसी न वाज भरी विषसी विष सौ भरि राषति प्रांनन कौं ॥
सुधि भूलि है हाल जौ मेरी भटू विभयौं मननी की सी तानन मौं ॥
कुल कांन जौ आपनी राष्या चहौ अंगुरी दे रहौ दोऊ कांनन मौं ॥

'Hearken, (my friends), why will you go back home,—for you will be struck by the arrows of Love,[2]—
This is not simply the sound of a flute, but deadly venom, and fills the heart with poison:
Recollection is lost in rapture, my sister, I am sunk, as it were, in the song of thought:
If ye would save your family honour,[3] then keep your fingers in both your ears.'

Another drawing[4] has Krishna on the right, standing in a shady grove playing the flute, and on the left four girls prostrate in a meadow; the Jamunā in the foreground. The text reads:

(क.) ॥ ऐक ओर वीजना डुलाव़त चतुर नार ऐक ओर झारी कर लिऐ सषी पांन की ॥
पाछे तें षव़ासन षव़ाविं पांन षोल षोल राधे मुष लाली जौं चमकत उतांन की ॥
व़ाहो समे वांसुरी वजाई नंदनंदन जू व़ाकों सुध आई वाही कुंजन के थांन की ॥
वाए गिरी नीरवारी दाहनें समीरवारी पाछे पांनदानवारी आगें वृषभांन की ॥

'On the one side a skilful woman plies the fan, on the other side a maiden holds in her hand the water-jar,
From behind a handmaid gives her betel to eat, and when Rādhā opens her mouth, then brightly shines the scarlet.
Just at that moment the Son of Nand played on his flute, and there came upon her remembrance of the place of those bowers (where she had known his love):
The water-bearer fell on the left, the fan-bearer on the right, the betel-bearer behind, and the daughter of Vṛṣabhāna in front.'

That is to say, Rādhā is walking out with three attendants, when they suddenly hear the flute, and all fall senseless to the ground.

Two other drawings[5] refer to the confusion caused by Krishna's words and the music of the flute in the minds of the milkmaids who have gone to the *ghāṭ* to fill their pots. In one drawing Krishna is seated in a tree near the *ghāṭ*, playing his flute; in the other the figure of Krishna is omitted. Both drawings are inscribed with the same verse in very slightly varying forms; the second is given here, except that the reading सषी for सषि is taken from the first:

कवित्त ॥ जानत आन परी सफरी जव नैन को प्रतिवंव निहारै ॥
लाल कहै ते षिझै सषी सों कछु चंचलता की सुधो न सह्मारै ॥
एसे सु भाव भए है नए जुग जामगए घर को न सिधारै ॥
चीर सो छात के नीर भरे फिर तीर पै आए कें गागर ढारै ॥ १ ॥

'"Do you know the *sapharī* (fish) entered (the pot) when it saw the reflection of (your) eyes?"
When Lāla thus bantered, the maidens were somewhat disturbed and could not recover their senses,
And so was their temper thereby changed, that ages passed ere they went to their homes:
They strained the water through cloths (to catch the fish), and (yet) they emptied the pots when they came to the bank again.'

[1] Kāŋgṛā, about 1800. My collection, vol. viii, f. 38.

[2] Cf. 'Only she wakes, says Kabīr, whose heart is pierced with the arrow of His music.'

[3] I. e. worldly respectability, as explained on p. 26. See also *Vidyāpati*, translation, no. cxii.

[4] A shaded drawing, Kāŋgṛā, 18th century. My collection, vol. ii, f. 9.

[5] Kāŋgṛā, about 1800 or later. My collection, vol. ii, ff. 12, 49. A very incorrect translation of the poem is given in my *Indian Drawings*, ii, p. 11, foot-note.

Cīra-haraṇa, the Stealing of Clothes.—Wishing to be united to Śrī Krishna, the milkmaids invoked the aid of Gaurī, and adopted a rule of prayer, fasting and bathing. One day they all went down to bathe in the Jamunā, and leaving their clothes on the bank, they entered the water and played and sang the praises of Hari. Śrī Krishna was grazing cows near by, and, overhearing the songs, crept up and observed the bathers; and removing the clothes, he climbed a *kadam* tree on the bank, and waited in silence. When the milkmaids found that their clothes had been stolen, and saw in the *kadam* tree the thief of their hearts and their garments seated resplendent, they returned into the water and prayed for the garments to be restored. Śrī Krishna replied that they must come to fetch them—'and if it is truly for My sake that ye have bathed, then take them without shame.' And the clothes were only restored when the milkmaids went up with joined hands to receive them.

This anecdote is quite in accord with the possibilities of the Indian pastoral tradition; for to this day it is customary for women to bathe unclothed in the rivers and sacred pools of the Pañjāb and Kāshmīr. In India generally, however, it is more usual to wear a single garment, even when bathing in complete solitude, and this practice is invariable in the case of men. In the Krishna Līlā it is always understood that the nakedness of the *gopīs* is an image of the poverty and humility with which the souls of men must submit themselves to the will of God.

This subject is illustrated in Plate XLIX, B, where the milkmaids have returned to the water, and are asking Śrī Krishna to spare their confusion. An inferior Jaipur drawing of the same subject will be found in Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 22363, no. 8.

I have also a good Pahāṛī drawing[1] in which the *gopīs* have emerged from the river naked and are approaching Krishna's tree with gestures of submission. In the accompanying text Krishna reproves the milkmaids for bathing naked in the river, on the day of their self-appointed fast:

कृष्णदेवजी जव कहा जो तुसानू दोष है व्रत धारके नदी मो नंगी होकर स्नानकरती रही हौ, सो महाराज की आज्ञा मानकर तैसे प्रणाम करती भई॥

'When Krishna-deva-jī said (to the milkmaids) "It is your sin that ye bathed in the river naked on the day of your fast":[2] (then) having taken to heart the Lord's rebuke, they made obeisance.'

Krishna fed by the wives of the Mathurā Brāhmans. The herd-lads being one day hungry, Krishna sent a message humbly requesting food from the Brāhmans of Mathurā. These Pharisees of the legend, occupied with their many prayers, refused all alms until their sacrifices had been completed. Then Krishna sent again, this time to the wives of the Brāhmans; and no sooner was the asking done, than they rose from their cooking and hastened to carry golden dishes of food to Krishna with their own hands. The husband of one woman did not allow her to go; yet by the fixing of her thoughts on Krishna she left her body and before all others reached and was united to Him as water is joined with water. Then came the others to where Krishna awaited them beneath a shady tree, and they gave Him their offerings with true devotion. Krishna received these offerings very graciously, and the women returned home, fearful lest they might be outcast by their husbands; but the latter, repenting of their hardness of heart, exclaimed, 'Better than we are the women, who without prayer, austerity, or sacrifice, bravely went and beheld Śrī Krishna, and with their own hands gave Him food.'

This episode is very well illustrated in a popular Kāŋgrā work reproduced on Plate LVII. It will be noticed that this is really a procession, beginning at the lower right-hand corner, and proceeding in three divisions to Krishna in the top left-hand corner. The lower left hand shows the woman whose husband prevented her departure.

[1] My collection, vol. viii, f. 40.

[2] *Vata-dhārake*: *vrata* is any vow or ritual voluntarily undertaken, a work of supererogation, not belonging to daily duty; and Krishna's not very severe reproof suggests that a graver demeanour would have been more appropriate during their fast. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (and *Prema Sāgara*) the blame is laid on them because the river is haunted by the god Varuṇa. These 'reasons' represent the survival of popular ideas in a story which has received a mystical interpretation, and this instance is typical of the process by which the whole of the Brindābana Līlā has been given a spiritual significance.

The women with offerings to Krishna is the subject of very many other drawings and coloured pictures, often of high merit (Plates XLVI, LIX, A).

Krishna-Govardhana-dhara, Krishna raises Mt. Govardhana. Śrī Krishna instructed Nanda and the other *gopas* to abandon the worship of the Vedic Indra,[1] and to worship Brāhmans, cows, and the hill Govardhana. Indra was much angered, and sent down on Gokula a storm of lightning, rain, and hail; but Krishna, easily lifting the hill Govardhana upon his little finger, sheltered all the Braja dwellers and their flocks and herds. This is a favourite subject of the Pahāṛī painters.

The earliest known representation of this episode appears on the Maṇḍor pillar.

Krishna Dudhādhārī, Krishna milking. In some respects the most important of all the Rājput pictures here reproduced is that found on Plate XLV, where Krishna is represented dressed as a milkmaid, milking a cow; by this trick He has found opportunity of speech with Rādhā. This is an episode not specifically mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; one might think it an illustration to some song of Caṇḍidās, who has much to say of the curious shifts and stratagems that Krishna uses to effect his meetings with Rādhā. But there is no proof that Caṇḍidās was known in the hills, and it is more probable that we ought to connect the pictures of this type with some such poems as Keśava Dāsa's *Rasikapriyā*, vii, 33, where Rādhā wails:



FIGURE 3. Śrī Krishna Dudhādhārī: Pahāṛī drawing (Garhwāl), probably mid-18th century. Slightly reduced.

'Where and O where hast thou hidden thyself to-day, O Lāla? Our dear blue heifer's new-born calf
She will nowise suckle to-day, O Keśava, nor will she let me go near to her, nor come to me!
I am hurrying on and running to call thee, I am all alone in despair,
O Govinda, do not even pretend to be proud in this very Gokula village where once thou grazedst cows!'

The picture shows that Krishna has come, and the blue heifer gently yields her milk. The same subject, except that Krishna is not disguised, and three *gopīs* are present, is illustrated in the accompanying drawing (Figure 3) from Garhwāl.[2] This, too, is a work of extraordinary beauty and passionate abandon. Whatever may be said of certain hieratic forms, here at least is an art that is written in a universal language.[3]

[1] Just as the story of the banishment of Kāliya relates to the substitution of the cult of Krishna for that of Nāgas formerly prevalent at Mathurā, so the defeat of Indra indicates the supersession of the Vedic *yajñas* wherever the Vaiṣṇava movement most prevailed. The Vaiṣṇava system was on the one hand a substitute for old animistic superstitions, and on the other hand replaced old Vedic ritualism and orthodoxy.

[2] My collection, vol. v, f. 14.

[3] The two works last referred to, not to speak of any others, show that Indian artists do not 'always leave the meaning of a picture to be apprehended indirectly, by recognition of the subject-matter instead of directly through a mood

The Rāsa Līlā. Here the *gopīs* are represented as leaving their homes by night to follow the sound of Krishna's flute, and as joining with Him in many blissful festivities.

During a part of this time Krishna bestows his favour upon Rādhā alone; but conceit came into Rādhā's mind, and thinking the Beloved wholly subject to her charms, she prayed Him to carry her upon his shoulders. So Krishna smiled, and invited her to mount; but when she stretched forth her hands to do so, He vanished.[1]

'As her hands were outstretched, so with extended hands she remained standing; just as, by pride, lightning may have been separated from the cloud, or the moonlight, angry with the moon, may have lingered behind; and the brilliance from her fair form, escaping and spreading on the earth, gave forth such beauty as though she were standing on a ground of shining gold . . . and heaving great sighs because of the separation from her Beloved, she stood alone in the forest, and all the beasts, birds, trees and climbing plants, hearing the sound of her sobbing, were weeping also.'[2]

This subject is illustrated in the drawing reproduced on Plate LIX, B, which has the following Sanskrit inscription:

एवमुक्तः प्रियामाह स्कंध आरुह्यतामिति ।
ततश्चान्तर्दधे कृशः सा वधूरन्वतप्यत ॥ ३८ ॥
(read स्कंधं for स्कंध and कृशाः for कृशः)

'So saying, He spake to the dear one, "Come on to my shoulder", and then disappeared: she, left lacking, suffered torment.'

Meanwhile the *gopīs* were seeking distractedly both for Rādhā and Krishna: they found Rādhā in distress, and returned with her to the river bank, to sing the praises of Krishna and enact his deeds, hoping that he would return of his own free will. And when he came not, they fell down senseless with grief.

'Then in their very midst the son of Nand appeared,
As a juggler who disappears by closing the eyes (of the lookers on), and again appears.
When Hari was seen to come, each (of the milkmaids) came to life again,
As if the vital airs should descend on a corpse, and the senseless limbs revive.'

And He said:

'Now I have tried you, you have remembered and thought upon Me,
You have increased your affection towards Me alone, like beggars newly enriched,
You have chosen my service, abandoning thoughts of the world and the scriptures,
As a Vairāgī abandons his home, and gives his heart for the love of Hari.
How can I do you honour? I cannot reward you enough;
Though I should live for a hundred of Brahmā's years, still I could not be freed of my debt.'

The most essential part of the Rāsa Līlā is the subsequent union of Krishna with the *gopīs* in the *Rāsa Maṇḍala* or General Dance.[3] To see this sight the gods attended with their wives, and rained down flowers, and there was such harmony of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* that wind and water ceased to flow, the moon and the stars were astonished, and six months passed while none were aware. At the close of this time Krishna teaches the milkmaids that they must return to their worldly duties, and must seek for Him in their own hearts and the round of their daily life.

Amongst the Rājput paintings there are many different representations of Krishna dancing. The typical Rāsa dance is the *Rāsa Maṇḍala* or General Dance, in which the Lord by *yoga-māyā* multiplies his forms and dances with the milkmaids in a ring, standing between each pair, as 'common to all and special to each':

expressed in line and form', as has been suggested (Binyon, *The Flight of the Dragon*, p. 14). On the contrary, as Mr. Binyon says himself in another place, 'Here is a beauty not of the senses, but of the spirit; or rather of the spirit through the senses.' ('Quarterly Review', April, 1915, p. 526.)

[1] I have another drawing (vol. viii, f. 23) representing Śrī Krishna actually carrying Rādhā upon his back.

[2] *Prema Sāgara*, ch. xxxi (= *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, where, however, Rādhā is not yet mentioned by name).

[3] *Prema Sāgara*, ch. xxxiv.

'Two and two the *gopīs* held hands, and between each pair was Krishna their friend . . .
Gopī and Nanda-kumāra alternate, a round ring of lightnings and heavy cloud,
The fair Braj girls and the dusky Krishna, like to a gold and sapphire necklace.'

This subject is represented in the accompanying sketch (Figure 4), probably a design for embroidery, giving one-fourth of a circle of twelve figures.



FIGURE 4. Rāsa Maṇḍala, the circular dance of Krishna with the milkmaids of Brindāban. (Sketch of one-fourth of the circle of twelve figures, Pahāṛī, 18th–19th century, about ⅔ original size.)

There are also many pictures[1] in which Krishna is represented as dancing with Rādhā in the centre of the ring; the central dance is either concerted, or Krishna and Rādhā are holding hands and swinging round and round, their feet touching and bodies leaning apart. There may be a chorus of milkmaid-musicians external to the ring. In other cases Krishna and Rādhā, or Krishna alone, dance to the music of a chorus, and there is no ring. There is a magnificent example of the latter type in the library of the Mahārājā of Jaipur; cartoons from the same hand are reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, II, Plates I and II, and here in Plates IX, X.

Closely connected with these subjects is the *Dāna Līlā*, or 'Taking of Toll', of which there exist several versions in Sanskrit and Hindī. This is properly a part of the Krishna Līlā, but it is not in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and forms an episode complete in itself. The milkmaids set out to sell their curds and milk, and on their way they have to cross the Jamunā. But when they reach the ferry, there is Krishna with his herdsmen, and claims a toll. After much dispute, the milkmaids offer some little gift, but they refuse to acknowledge the right of taxation. One of the herdsmen, however, hides the boat; the darkness is falling, and there is nothing for it but to remain with Krishna, for the homeward path is full of danger for the belated traveller. The milkmaids yield, and render to Krishna not the toll alone, but body and soul and goods.

The meeting of the milkmaids and the herdsmen, with Krishna, on Jamunā bank, is the subject of two or three Pahāṛī drawings[2] in my collection, and one from Patna which has been adapted to illustrate my edition of the *Dāna Līlā* in English.[3] None of these drawings and pictures, however, has any inscribed text.

It may be remarked here that in the course of the dispute about the levy, Rādhā says that if Kaṃs Rāī hears of Krishna's exactions, he will send to arrest him as a thief; and a similar idea is

[1] A good example from Jaipur is exhibited framed in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

[2] E.g. vol. viii, ff. 53, 67.

[3] *The Taking of Toll, being the Dāna Līlā, translated into English*, by Ananda Coomaraswamy, London, 1915.

elaborated in the amusing episode of Rādhā's attempt to take her revenge, when she appears with a company of milkmaids (very transparently) disguised as soldiers from Mathurā, and endeavours to make the thief a prisoner. A picture of this episode, in my collection,[1] is inscribed with the following text:

कवित्त ॥ राज पौरिया के रूप राधे को वनाय ल्याईं गोपी मथुरा ते मधुवन की लतानि में ॥
कान्ह कही टेर टेर तोको चाहे कंस राय काके कहे लूटत सुने हो दधि दानि में ॥
संग के सयाने गये डगर पराने देव स्याम शिशुयाने ते पकरि करे पानि में ॥
छूटि गयो छल ते छवीली की विलोकिनि मै ढीली भई भौंहें वालजोली मुसकानि में ॥

'Putting on Rādhā the guise of the king's guard, the milkmaids brought her from Mathurā into Madhuban grove,
She says to Krishna, "Stop, stop, Kaṃs Rāī wants you; by whose leave, hark you, do you steal the curd from our jars?"
Away went the elder (lads) together, and Deva Śyāma dashed away, but, being still a child, she caught him by the hand:
(Yet) he got away by his clever tricks, and while the fair one looked upon him, she smoothed her brows and smiled at his childish pranks.'

In this picture the disguised milkmaids, led by Rādhā, have come upon the lads in the act of stealing curd from the sellers of milk; Rādhā has caught Krishna by the wrist, while the other lads are making off or hiding.

The Slaying of Śaŋkhāsura. Krishna with his brother Balarāma now enter upon the study of the



FIGURE 5. The death of Śaŋkhāsura at the hands of Krishna. Four devas are present as spectators. School of Jammu, 17th–18th century. Traced from the original and slightly reduced.

Vedas, under the Rishi Sāndīpani, and complete the course in sixty days. Their Guru asks as his teacher's fee the restoration to life of his son who has been drowned in the sea. Krishna goes to the

[1] Kāŋgṛā-Garhwāl, late 18th–19th century. My collection, vol. viii, f. 55.

sea and is informed that an *asura*, by name Śaṇkhāsura, 'who lives in my waters in the form of a conch', is responsible for the boy's death. Krishna enters the waters and kills the demon.[1]

This is a subject frequently illustrated, and I give here an example traced from a Jammu drawing, probably of the 18th century. The same subject occurs on Rājput playing-cards (Plate LXXVII, B). The drawing reproduced illustrates several typical conventions of Rājput drawing, such as the formula for water, and the curious tree, which recalls the trees represented in Jaina paintings.

[Krishna now sends a message to the milkmaids of Brindāban, that he will not return to them as a cowherd, but they must find him by devotion and knowledge, in their own hearts. This brings the Brindābana section of the Krishna Līlā to a natural close. It is at this point that the junction is effected of the mystical story of Gopāla Krishna, with the orthodox mythological accounts of the Vāsudeva Krishna of the Mahābhārata.

[At this time the Kauravas were tyrannizing over the Pāṇḍavas, as related in the Mahābhārata, of which Krishna is made aware. Krishna is driven from Mathurā by the relatives of Kaṅs, who attack the city with great armies; he abandons Mathurā and settles at Dvārakā on the sea. Krishna becomes the rival of Śiśupāla for the hand of Rukmiṇī, daughter of Rukma. He makes an appointment with Rukmiṇī, and they elope together, and are married at Dvārakā.[2]]

The Marriage of Aniruddha. Aniruddha is the son of Pradyumna, the son of Krishna and Rukmiṇī. Uṣā, the daughter of the *asura* Vāṇāsura, falls in love with Aniruddha in a dream. She wakes, and knows not the name of her beloved. Then her *sakhī* Citrarekhā 'called for all her drawing materials, and took her seat; and having propitiated Gaṇeśa and Śāradā, and meditated on her spiritual preceptor (*guru*), began to draw. At first she drew and exhibited the Three Worlds, the Fourteen Spheres, the Seven Isles, the Nine Parts of the Earth, the Sky, the Seven Seas, the Eight Heavens and Vaikuṇṭha. Afterwards she severally drew and exhibited all the Devas, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakṣas, Rishis, Munis, Lokapālas, Digpālas, and the kings of every country; but Uṣā did not find the one she wished for among them. Then Citrarekhā began to draw and exhibit one by one the forms of all the Yaduvaṃsīs; and hereupon Uṣā, on seeing the portrait of Aniruddha, said, "Now I have found my heart's thief!"'[3] Then Citrarekhā brings Aniruddha secretly to Uṣā's palace. He is discovered there by Vāṇāsura, finally defeated in a great conflict, and taken bound. Krishna is then informed of these events by Nārada,[4] proceeds thither and defeats the *asura* in a pitched battle. The lovers are then married with the consent of the latter.

Of these events, I have a number of pictures[5] by different hands, as follows: a partly coloured drawing of the breaking of the banner; one drawing, by the same hand as the Nala-Damayantī series, representing the lovers in a tower, the base of which is completely surrounded by *rākṣasas*; and two other drawings in a related style (numbered 34 and 35), representing Aniruddha bound, and the grief of the Yaduvaṃsīs on hearing the news.

The Diversion of the Jamunā. Shortly after this, Balarāma visited Nand and Yaśodā at Braja, and danced with the milkmaids. One day Balarāma commanded the Jamunā to flow to his feet, that he might conveniently bathe. When the river paid no attention to his commands, he took the plough that he bears and drew her towards him—and the bend in the river remains to this day. This is an episode frequently illustrated.[6]

[1] The text does not say that Krishna assumed the fish form, but the pictures depict the Matsya Avatāra form of Vishnu. The story, however, is quite independent of that of the true Matsya Avatār.

[2] This episode has been made the subject of separate poems; a *Rukmiṇī Maṇgal* has been illustrated by Mola Rāma.

[3] *Prema Sāgara*, ch. lxiii. This affords a very interesting glimpse of the ritualistic aspect of the painter's art, and at the same time of the subject-matter with which a Vaiṣṇava artist was supposed to be acquainted. That the handmaid of a princess should be an accomplished artist is quite in accord with the familiar tradition of classic Sanskrit drama. The episode of the drawing of a portrait in the manner just described is usually represented in the *Rāgamālas* as Dhanāśrī.

[4] Nārada, one of the Seven Rishis, is the messenger and counsellor of the gods. 'The first and foremost adept of this *kalpa*, his mission is to spread occult knowledge, by unceasingly playing on the seven musical notes . . . He is the only rishi of whom the *vīṇā* is a constant accompaniment' (Purnendu Narayan Sinha, The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, p. 5). Nārada will be recognized by the *vīṇā* amongst the Seven Rishis in the *Death of Bhīṣma* reproduced on Plate XXXVII.

[5] My collection, vol. ix, ff. 7–12.

[6] Ibid., vol. viii, f. 54.

Krishna as Arjuna's Charioteer. At this time Krishna (who had already gone to the aid of the Pāṇḍavas when they were imprisoned in Benares) was invited to a great sacrifice. On this occasion Śiśupāla abused him, and was slain by the discus. Subsequently Krishna went again to Hastināpur to assist the Pāṇḍavas in the great war. Here he became the charioteer of Arjuna, to whom he revealed the *Bhagavad Gītā* on the field of battle. He was also present at the death of Bhīṣma. These events are not referred to in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, but form a common subject of Rājput painting,[1] and the chariot scene often appears as the frontispiece to manuscripts of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, which is also sometimes further illustrated by earlier episodes of the Līlā.

The Story of Sudāmā. Sudāmā (Śrīdāma) was a very poor Brāhmaṇa, but formerly a fellow pupil with Śrī Krishna in the house of their common teacher. Sudāmā visited Śrī Krishna at Dvārakā, and was received with great kindness; and on returning home, found that his own humble cottage had been transformed into a palace. My collection includes five late Pahāṛī illustrations of this story, viz. Arrival at Krishna's Palace, Departure thence, Arrival Home, Welcome by his Wife, and Life at Home. The first of these events also forms the subject of the Jammu picture reproduced on Plate XXIX, inscribed reverse in Ṭākrī characters: *Śrī Kīsane kaḍha Sudāmā āyā*, 'Śrī Krishna rises on the arrival of Sudāmā.'[2]

Episodes from Earlier Branches of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. What has been related above accounts for most of the paintings directly illustrating the Krishna Līlā. But Vaiṣṇava art—as indicated also in the catalogue of subjects quoted above in connexion with the story of Aniruddha—is concerned with all things in the Three Worlds, alike Past, Present, and Future. Many events of mythic history are accordingly illustrated, as for example *The Birth of Brahmā*; in this representation Brahmā is four-headed, seated upon a lotus which rises from the navel of Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu), who reclines on the serpent Ananta, attended by Lakṣmī. In most examples two *asuras* are approaching to attack.

Another old Paurāṇic subject very frequently treated is the *Salvation of the King of Elephants* (*gajendra mokṣa*), sometimes referred to as the *Elephant and Crocodile* (*gaja grāha*). A striking example is reproduced on Plate XVI, and this closely follows the type of the well-known Gupta bas-relief at Deorgarh.[3] The story runs that two great rishis, each a devotee of the Adorable, incurred such curses from certain other saints, that one became a crocodile, the other an elephant, each forgetful of their former faith. One day the elephant went down to drink just where the crocodile lay; the crocodile seized him by the leg. A struggle raged for a thousand years, till at last the elephant's trunk alone remained above the waters. Then there came to him the memory of his former faith, and he sought refuge with the Adorable. Breaking a lotus flower he offered it to Bhagavān, crying to Him for aid. He took the form of Hari and, riding upon Garuḍa, instantly appeared, and slaying the crocodile with the *cakra*, saved the elephant; and both attained salvation by his grace. The two are counted amongst the number of the Forty-two Beloved of the Lord, the 'Hari-Vallabhas' of the *Bhakta-mālā*.[4]

Representations of this subject vary considerably. In some the *grāha* is a veritable crocodile, and holds the elephant by the trunk, in a manner inconsistent with the above account. A version of this kind has evidently formed the basis of the cover-illustration of Kipling's *Just So Stories*. In other examples the *grāha* is more like an octopus, with many tentacles winding about the elephant's feet, or, as in Plate XVI, like a loathly worm with many eyes. These types fit well with the generally understood interpretation that the elephant is the soul of man entangled in the snares of lust and pleasure,[5] powerless to save himself without the aid of the Adorable.

[1] My collection, vol. viii, f. 19; also Plate XXXVII, B.

[2] The *Prema Sāgara*, rendering the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, says: 'When Sudāmā entered, as soon as Śrī Krishna saw him, he descended from the throne, advanced forward, and met him.'

[3] See Burgess, *Ancient Monuments of India*, ii, Plate 252. Also Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Plate LXXX, I.

[4] See Grierson, 'Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.', London, April, 1910. See also the *Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata*, VII. iii. 30.

[5] With *grāha* cf. the usage of *graha* as 'the seizer', with reference to the sense organs (Śaṇkara, on the Brahma-sūtra, 2. 4. 6). The 'crocodile' is plainly the principle of desire, the devil.

A drawing[1] of the octopus type has the following inscription :[2]

ग्राह ग्रस्ते गजेंद्रे रुदति सरभसंतार्क्ष्यमारुह्य धावन्व्याजूर्णन्माल्यभूषावसन परिकरो मेघगंभीरघोषः।
अविभ्राणो रथांगंशरमसिमभयंशंखचापौ सखेटौ हस्तैकौमोदकीमप्यवतु हरि रसावंहसांसंहतिर्वः ॥ १ ॥

'May that Hari remove the multitude of your sins, who, upon the crying of the king of elephants seized by the crocodile, immediately appeared riding upon Garuḍa, hastening in burning grief, with garland, jewels, and gear, roaring like a thunder-cloud, holding in his hands discus, arrow, sword, conch, bow, sling (?), and eke the mace, and (with a hand) dispelling fear.'

In the drawing Hari has eight arms ; one hand is raised in *abhaya mudrā*, the other hands carry the weapons mentioned. The *grāha* is something like a white ant with long thin tentacles.

The Churning of the Ocean. Another commonly represented subject well known in earlier Indian art. The mountain Mandara was the churning rod, the serpent Vāsukī the rope, and the *devas* pulled at the head, the *asuras* at the tail. The first product was the world-poison, which Śiva drank out of compassion, and whence his throat is stained blue ; this is usually represented in the paintings as a small blue spot (seen on the throat of Śiva in the painting reproduced on Plate LXIV). Then came various treasures, and then Lakṣmī, who accepted Vishnu as her Lord. Paintings are abundant, representing Lakṣmī risen from the ocean upon the flower of a lotus, and bathed by the two or four elephants of the quarters (Plate XXVIII, A). Next there arose a vessel of Living Water (*amṛta*), for which the *devas* and *asuras* contended ; Vishnu assumed the form of a beautiful woman (Mohinī), and obtained the consent of the *asuras* to order its distribution herself. One *asura*, however, sitting amongst the *devas*, became immortal by the draught shared out amongst them ; he was beheaded by the discus of Vishnu, but could not be slain, and his head is Rāhu who still pursues the Sun and the Moon at every eclipse. This subject also may be found amongst the Pahāṛī pictures.[3]

The Lotus of the Heart. I have more than once met with paintings representing a white lotus-flower enshrining figures of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa[4] or Śiva and Pārvatī.[5] The flower is pendent, like a harebell on its stalk, and the area of the pericarp is filled with fire, within which are seated the divine figures. Such pictures may be regarded as corresponding to the poetic intuition of 'heaven in a wild flower, infinity in a grain of sand'. But the reference more exactly defined is to the eight-petalled lotus of the heart, the flower of which is pendent. It is enjoined upon the worshipper to meditate upon this lotus, and upon 'My form within the fire'.[6] This is the first stage of a meditation which is to result in abstract vision of the Unconditioned.[7]

Allied in character to paintings of this type are the more frequent representations of Vishnu, alone or with Lakṣmī,[8] enthroned upon a lotus seat (*padmāsana*), or of Devī[9] similarly represented. These figures are often surrounded by the implements of ritual worship, or accompanied by a worshipping figure (Plate VII) ; they correspond to the *dhyāna mantram* which are to be visually realized in personal worship of the *iṣṭa devatā*.[10]

The Gītā Govinda. The 'Herdsman's Song' of Jayadeva relates the separation and reconciliation of Kṛishna and Rādhā, in the form of a lyrical drama. The Lord is entangled in the world of the senses, represented by the *gopīs*. He is 'reminded' by the 'messenger', and returns to Rādhā, whose forgiveness is the perfect unity of soul and body. This poem is illustrated by three Early Kāŋgrā paintings—the remnant of a series—of which two are reproduced on Plates XXXVII, XXXVIII. In the third, not reproduced here, the figure of the poet himself is introduced, as in the actual poem.

[1] Kāŋgrā, 18th century ; my collection, vol. viii, f. 61.

[2] This is a regular *sāstrīya dhyānam*, not like the 'verses for pictures' chosen from vernacular poems.

[3] My collection, vol. viii, f. 68.

[4] Ibid., f. 30.

[5] Ibid., vol. iii, f. 36. *Vide infra*, p. 56.

[6] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, sk. xi. ch. 14.

[7] Purnendu Narayan Sinha, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, pp. 296–7, 396.

[8] My collection, vol. viii, ff. 27, 51, 52.

[9] Ibid., vol. iii, ff. 9, 14, 26, 27, &c. and vol. ix, f. 39 (here Plate VII).

[10] As described by S. C. Basu, *Daily Practice of the Hindus*, Allahabad (2nd ed. n. d.), pp. 48, 49, 78, 79, 140, &c.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I: THE CULT OF ŚRĪ NĀTHA-JĪ

Śrī Vallabhācārya, the son of a Tailaŋga Brāhman, was born A. D. 1479. He lived at Brindāban and Mathurā, and founded a Krishna cult for the worship of the special manifestation of Śrī Krishna as Śrī Nātha-jī. This is mythically related in the following legend: While Vallabha was living at Brindāban, Gopāla-Krishna manifested himself on the Govardhana hill by the name of Devadamana or Śrī Nātha-jī. This manifestation consisted in the discovery of a buried image. Śrī Nātha-jī appeared to Vallabha in a dream and summoned him to visit him, and commanded him to erect a shrine for himself and to preach his worship, without which there could be no access to the Puṣṭimārga, the Path of Divine Grace. This was the origin of the cult of Śrī Nātha-jī.[1]

In the time of Auraŋgzīb's persecutions, the Vallabhācāris sought the protection of Rāj Siŋgh of Udaipur; he granted them villages, and invited them to bring the image to Udaipur. The party was met on the frontier with all honour, but the wheels of the cart stuck fast at a place now called Nāthadvār, about twenty-four miles north of Udaipur, and this was taken for a sign that the god wished his shrine to be erected on that spot, which was done accordingly.[2]

The Vallabhācāris are an influential sect throughout Western India. Pictures of Śrī-Nātha-jī are painted at Nāthadvār in great numbers, and brought away by pilgrims. They may be seen, for example, in most of the shopkeepers' booths at Mathurā.

The pictures are of two main types, those illustrating the original manifestation of Śrī Nātha-jī (i. e. the discovery of the image at Govardhan), and those in which he is represented as an object of worship. The former subject is represented in Plate XIV. The buried image is seen in the upper left-hand corner of the picture, where one of the cows of Govardhana is making an offering of her own milk. On the right hand Śrī Vallabha is in the act of establishing the image in a shrine. Below, to the left, are other Tailaŋga Brāhmans in attitudes of devotion, and a servant with a bale of offerings for the new shrine. On the right are two princes of Udaipur, of whom the foremost is no doubt Rāj Siŋgh, and two *gopīs*, or perhaps princesses, with offerings of milk and curd. The foreground is occupied on the right and left by villages (with a temple on the right), and two bathing tanks in the centre; one of the latter is surrounded by little *chatris*, or stone pavilions. The most beautiful figure is that of the foremost Brāhman, a true *bhakta*, whose eyes are closed and hands outstretched in fervent adoration.

Śrī Nātha-jī as an object of worship is represented in the two figures of Plate XV. In both examples he is represented with the right hand raised and holding in the left hand a cup of milk; Rādhā stands at his side in an attitude of devotion. It may be observed that Dāujī (Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna) is represented in exactly similar paintings, but behind his head there rise the hoods of a many-headed *nāga*.[3] Dvārakānātha, on the other hand, is represented as four-armed.

[1] Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism, &c.*, p. 77.

[2] Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan* (reprint, 1914, vol. i, p. 415).

[3] For the derivation of this form from that of ancient *nāga* images see Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, 1910, p. 89.

CHAPTER II

ŚṚṄGĀRA

THE following section, in which are described a few of the paintings made to illustrate the extensive literature on Love-poetry, must be regarded as a continuation of the subject-matter of the Krishna Līlā; for whenever love is spoken of, it is the love of Krishna and Rādhā manifest in other bodies, and it is almost always their figures that are represented in the paintings.

We shall try to make a little clearer the Indian love-experience. Romantic love in India, as might be expected in a land of such severe social etiquette, is a matter of love at first sight—sight of the Beloved in a picture, in a dream, or in actual life, it matters not. The meeting is always the meeting of Dante and Beatrice, never the gradual liking born of proximity and friendship. And this inexplicable love at first sight is always described by the poets and the painters in terms of physical enchantment; for they do not know the anti-mystical conception of soul and body as separate and warring entities, and for them the inner and the outer man are one. To love is to desire: and because of this, and of her greater consciousness in a society where the physical aspects of love are the symbols of religion and the theme of art, the woman is the more reserved. She is likewise of profound humility, for it seems to her that all she has to offer is so little: here the religious motif enters, for it seems to the soul that she is infinitely little in the presence of the infinitely great. All these considerations go to determine the speechless shyness and submissive grace with which the *navala bālā* bows her head when first she is left alone with her Lord, and the utter desolation of the *virahiṇī*. More than this, they go to explain the heroism of the Rājput warriors who donned so often the bridal robes of death when every hope of victory had gone, certain that none of those they loved would fall alive into the hand of any foe, but would be waiting to receive them in another world. They help us to understand the spiritual significance of *satī*, when we find it constantly employed in mystic symbolism, not merely by a court poet, such as Nau'ī, but by one so human and so gentle as Kabīr:

'More than all else do I cherish at heart that love which makes me to live a limitless life in this world . . .
It is like a wife, who enters the fire at the bidding of love.'

Rarely has any other art combined so little fear with so much tenderness, so much delight with such complete renunciation. If the Chinese have taught us best how to understand the life of Nature manifest in waters and in mountains, Indian art at least can teach us how not to misunderstand desire, for we are constantly reminded here, that the soul of sweet delight can never be defiled.

Just as in the corresponding music, we are deeply impressed that it can be possible to utter so much passion with so little vehemence;[1] and so far is this the case, that it is not difficult at first sight to overlook to what extent these poems and pictures are frankly amorous. But the more one follows this impassioned art, the more is it clear that its complete avoidance of sentimentality, the certainty of its universal appeal, are founded in its constant reference to the physical fact. The abstract and the spiritual are constantly proved by reference to the concrete and material, as is only possible where it is believed that all is intertwined, and, once more in the words of Kabīr, that 'All the men and women of the world are His living forms.'

The word 'Śṛṇgāra' refers especially to the sentiment of love as represented in literary art.

[1] A. H. Fox-Strangways, *The Music of Hindustān*, p. 2: 'We do not know what to make of music which is dilatory without being sentimental and utters passion without vehemence.'

The Indian literature devoted to this subject is extensive and profound. One is amazed at the combination of such intimate knowledge of the passions of the body and soul with the will to codify and classify. But we must not be misled by such elaboration to think that all this literature is 'artificial' in any other sense than that it is the work of very skilful craftsmen using special conventions; on the contrary, it is so closely moulded on experience that it is only in proportion to the extent of our own experience that we can appreciate its realism. What is most impressive is that so much knowledge—such as here and now behind the Western Gates we fancy cannot differ from familiarity that breeds contempt—should be combined with so much tenderness; that such unwearying research should be constantly illumined by the magic of a first kiss.

The Indian Sṛŋgāra literature in Sanskrit is fairly accessible.[1] But the literature with which we are more concerned, though it is largely based on the Sanskrit prototypes, is written in Hindī, and little of it is available to English readers.[2] This special literature of Love and Rhetoric is, nevertheless, of great importance to the student of Rājput art because it has provided the Rājput painters with a constant supply of 'verses for pictures'. These verses stand in much the same relation to a great part of Rājput painting, as the *sādhanās*, *lakṣanams*, and *dhyāna mantrams* of the Śilpa Śāstras to *śāstrīya* sculpture.[3]

We shall now describe the pictures which are related to the Śṛŋgāra literature, classified according to the canons of the rhetoricians.

THE EIGHT NĀYAKĀS

Hindū writers classify the heroes (*nāyakas*) and heroines (*nāyakās* or *nāyikās*) of literature in many different ways. From our point of view, the most important of these classifications is that of heroines in eight types, the *Aṣṭanāyakā*: for sets of illustrations of the Eight Nāyakās are a favourite work of the Pahāṛī painters. In the majority of cases these painters follow the definitions of Keśava Dāsa,[4] and very often the appropriate verse of his *Rasikapriyā* is inscribed on the actual picture. The names of the Eight Nāyakās are as follows:

Svadhinapatikā, she whose lord is subject to her will.

Utkā, *Utkalā*, *Utkaṇṭhitā* or *Virahotkaṇṭhitā*, she who expects and yearns for her lover.

Vāsakaśayyā or *Sajjikā*, she who expects her lord to return from a journey, and waits with the bed prepared.

Abhisaṃdhitā or *Kalahāntaritā*, she who repulses her lord when he seeks to soften her pride; she repents when it is already too late.

Khaṇḍitā, she whose lord has spent the night away from home; when he returns in the morning, she reproaches him bitterly.

Proṣita-patikā or *Proṣita-preyasī*, she whose lord has gone abroad, appointing a time of return; the day has come, but he has not yet returned.

Vipralabdhā or *Labdhāvipra*, she that keeps an appointment, but night passes without her lover coming.

Abhisārikā, she who goes out to seek her beloved.

[1] E. g. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902.

[2] But see Grierson, *The Satsāiyā of Bihārī*, Calcutta, 1896, which includes a translation of the *Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa* of Jas'vant Siŋgh. The great Hindī authority, however, is Keśava Dāsa, who is often quoted by the Pahāṛī painters; his two works are the *Rasikapriyā* and the *Kavipriyā*.

[3] The custom of inscribing pictures with an appropriate verse is an old one. Cf. Bhavabhūti, *Mālatī-mādhava*, i. 36. It is said that certain of the Ajaṇṭā frescoes are inscribed with verses from Ārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā* (Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, II. i, p. 214).

[4] Keśava Dāsa was a Brāhmana of Orchā. His *Rasikapriyā*, the most authoritative work in Hindī on the analysis of love-poetry, was completed in S. 1648 (A. D. 1591). I have published the text and translation of ch. vii (*Aṣṭa-nāyakā-varṇana*), with sixteen reproductions of Pahāṛī paintings of the *nāyakās*, in the 'Journal of Indian Art', No. 128, October 1914. I have also five leaves of a manuscript of the *Rasikapriyā*, written about A. D. 1600, and illustrated on every page; but these illustrations, though purely Hindū in matter, are predominantly Mughal in manner; for this reason they are not given in the present work, with the exception of one example (Plate XVIII, A). Other writers of *nāyakā* poems quoted on Pahāṛī pictures are: Mati Rāma, Mola Rāma of Garhwāl, and several not identified.

Several varieties of the last are distinguished according to the sentiments of the *nāyakā* or the circumstances of her journey, e. g. *Kāmābhisārikā*, *Kṛṣnābhisārikā*, *Garbhābhisārikā*, &c.

These *nāyakās* are represented by the Pahāṛī painters as follows:

The *Svadhinapatikā* is seated at ease, while her lord is kneeling to tend her feet.

The *Utkā* waits at the trysting-place, sitting upon or standing beside a bed of leaves under a tree or at the edge of a grove. In the foreground there is water with lotus blossoms, and at one side the wild deer are grazing or snuffing the wind.

The *Vāsakaśayyā* looks out expectantly from the door of her house, or is actually welcoming her returning lord, while the maids are preparing the bed within. Sometimes a crow is introduced into the picture, the omen of a returning lover. If the husband has actually returned, as in the picture, given in the 'Journal of Indian Art', no. 128, fig. 13, the *nāyakā* should be distinguished as *Āgatapatikā*.

The *Abhisaṃdhitā* has repulsed her beloved, and sits on the ground in deep dejection, while he turns his back and departs.

The *Khaṇḍitā* meets her late-returning lover in the early morning, and overwhelms him with reproaches.

The *Proṣita-patikā* is seated in company with her *sakhī*, and will not be comforted because her lord has not yet returned.

The *Vipralabdhā* waits like the *Utkā* by a bed of leaves; but dawn has come without the expected lover, and the *nāyakā* is tearing off her jewels in disgust, and casting them down.

The *Abhisārikā* goes out on a dark and stormy night;[1] some of her jewellery has fallen by the way; cobras twine like anklets about her ankles; the lightning flashes, the rain pours; and the path is haunted by goblin-hags. Sometimes the Abhisārikā is represented as just arriving at her lover's house, or at the place of trysting.

Of these representations two only, the *Utkā* and *Abhisārikā*, are night scenes.

The following are examples of *Nāyakā-varṇana* texts, translated:

Utkā Nāyakā (*Rasikapriyā*, vii, 9).

(The *nāyakā* reflects.)

'"Or has he clean forgotten? or has something misled him? or does he rove astray, and cannot find the path?

Or is he afraid of something, O Keśava? or has he met any one? or has he fallen in love with some amorous woman?

Or is he coming along the road? or has he already arrived? howsoever it be, surely my Giver-of-Bliss will come!"

When Nand's son came not, she wondered for which of these reasons he delayed.'

Kāmābhisārikā (*Rasikapriyā*, vii, 35).

(The *sakhī* describes the *nāyakā*.)

'Serpents twine about her ankles, snakes are trampled under foot, divers ghosts she sees on every hand,

She takes no keep for pelting rain, nor hosts of locusts screaming midst the roaring of the storm,

She does not heed her jewels falling, nor her torn dress, the thorns that pierce her breast delay her not,—

The goblin-wives are asking her: "Whence have you learnt this yoga? How marvellous this trysting, O Abhisārikā!"'

Another verse (*Rasikapriyā*, vii, 31) reports the dialogue of *nāyaka* and *nāyakā*, and is appropriate to the examples illustrated in our Plates I and XXVII, B. The dialogue runs:

'(He.) Thou hast bought me for a price, thou hast come unasked, I know thy love.

(She.) Ah, Ghanaśyāma (Dark-cloud, a name of Krishna), the cloud-wreath's (*ghana-mālā*) calling led me hither.

[1] Cf. the Western symbol of the 'terrors of the Divine Dark'—Underhill, *Ruysbroeck*, 1915, p. 150.

(He.) Lo, there must be danger, where even thy body cannot be seen (so black is the night)! How mightest thou see the road?
(She.) The lightning, O Keśava, made it plain.[1]
(He.) Up hill and down dale, and through the mud, have not the thorns hurt thy feet?
(She.) Courage like an elephant's gave me great comfort.
(He.) The night is very fearsome; and thou all alone!
(She.) Nay, Lord of my Life, my companion was love.'

The following text by a poet, not identified, is inscribed on each of the Abhisārikā pictures reproduced on Plate LXXIII. The two texts are practically identical; that of LXXIII, B is quoted:

अथ कृष्णाभिसारिका ॥
कवित्त ॥ कारी घन घटा भारी पहिरिलै कारी सारी आँषिन मैं देष्यो तेरे कारो कजराद है ॥
कारो ईंकुरंग साह घसिकै लगाउ अंग कारो चोवा कंचुकी सुभलैंहीं भिगाद है ॥
कारे पाट सुंदर युहाए सव भूषन(न) कारी वेनी पीठ पर छोरिकै सुहाद है ॥
एसे समैं एसी ह्वैकै जाइमिली कान्हर सौं आजुही तो सिगरी कराई काम आइ है ॥ ६३ ॥

'Leaden and lowering and heavy laden clouds—dight in a robe of black—dark collyrium seen on thy eyes,—
All o'erspread with one dark hue—a deep black bodice on thy body—gleaming serpent—drenching rain—
Lovely the jet-black silken robe, and all thy gear is seemly—the black braid beauteous on thy back let fall,—
At such a time, in such a guise, faring to meet thy Krishna—to-day hast thou finished hastily (or neglected) thy household labours!'

It should be observed that in Keśava Dāsa's texts, and in most of the pictures, the *nāyaka* and *nāyakā* are respectively Krishna and Rādhā, the exemplars of all lovers. Conversely, it is possible to regard any of the pictures as representing some episode in the history of the soul's affection for her Lord, just as in the corresponding songs (e.g. Vidyāpati, Nos. LI, LXXIV, XCIII, and CX).

Two of the Eight Nāyakās are represented amongst the pictures here reproduced: the *Utkā* on Plate XLVIII, B, and probably also Plate XXVI, B, and the *Abhisārikā* on Plates XXVII, B and LXXII, and also Plate I (*Madhu-mādhavī Rāgiṇī*). Examples of all are illustrated in the 'Journal of Indian Art', no. 128.

THE NĀYAKĀ AS SVAKĪYĀ, PARAKĪYĀ OR SĀMĀNYĀ

Nāyakās are also classified in three types, as *Svakīyā* (loving her own lord), *Parakīyā* (loving one who is not her own lord), and *Sāmānyā* (impartial). A Pahāṛī drawing[2] in my collection represents the *Parakīyā*; it is inscribed with the following verse by Kāli Dāsa:[3]

क. ॥ कथा सुनिवे कौ वैठी पति संग गांठ जोर नैंन नीचै औंर लोक लीक न कवो करें ॥
कालि दास ता समै गुविंद वैंठे आंन पास रुचि मधुपांन की छवीली छकीवों करें ॥
घटनट नागर की सूरत समाए रही इकटक घूंघट की ओट तकिवों करें ॥
अट क्यों तिया को मन नवल सुजांन संग वावुरो पुरोहत पुरान वकवो करें ॥ १ ॥

'She sits by her husband's side and hears the recital, (her veil and his scarf) are knotted together,[4] her eyes cast down, she never behaves amiss in the eyes of other people!
O Kālidāsa! then comes Govinda to pay a visit, and the beauty, intoxicate with desires, devours him (in her longing),—
The shape of that hardy lover remains before her, she flashes a moment's glance through her veil,—
Go to! how is the woman's heart (taken up) with the new sage, while the garrulous *purohit* mumbles *purāṇas*!'

[1] Cf. Kalidāsa, *Meghadūta*, v. 37.
[2] Kāṇgṛā, late 18th century. My collection, vol. viii, f. 24.
[3] Possibly Kāli Dāsa Tribedī of Bānpura in the Doab, who flourished about A.D. 1700; but the forms suggest Pūrbī.
[4] Garments are also knotted in the ceremony of marriage. But here the scene is indoors, there is no fire, and it is expressly indicated that the family priest is reading from the Purāṇas.

This drawing is in three compartments, and represents the reading of *purāṇas* in a Vaiṣṇava household. The right and left compartments are occupied respectively by men and women of the household; the central compartment shows the master of the house seated with his wife, while the *purohit* or family priest reads and expounds from a manuscript laid before him. The scarf and veil of the master and his wife (a *gopī* of Brindāban) are knotted together, marking their legitimate union. Krishna is seated in the lower right-hand corner, and the girl is glancing at him surreptitiously.

The ultimate significance of this drawing is the constant Vaiṣṇava theme of the triumph of love over duty: the *bhaktā* chooses that good part which leads her to forget the illusion of family and duty.

Subdivisions of the Svakīyā

Svakīyā heroines are also classified according to the length of their experience. The inexperienced or artless *nāyakā*, the *Mugdhā*, *Mugadinī* or *Navoḍhā* is amongst these a favourite subject of the poet and painter. The *Mugadinī* stands also for the timid soul first face to face with the great Infinite:

At any word of dalliance, she tightly shuts her eyes,
For she has caught a glimpse of the great sea of Love.

A typical drawing[1] represents Krishna seated with Rādhā on a bed; Rādhā's body is tightly curled, and her head hangs, and she pushes out her hand at Krishna's touch (cf. Vidyāpati XXVIII). Here Rādhā is *Navoḍhā*, the bride who fears the nuptial bed. The text reads:

दोहा ॥ ज्यों ज्यों परसै लाल तन त्यों त्यों राषत गोय ॥
नवल बाल डर लाल के इंद्रवधूसी होय ॥ १ ॥

'The more that Lāla touches her body, the more she curls her body round,
The tender babe[2] afraid of Lāla, becomes as it were, a woodlouse!'[3]

The picture here reproduced on Plate LXXIV, B could illustrate:

What is Vidyāpati to think, forsooth?
For at the moment of embrace, she flies the bed!

In a somewhat similar drawing,[4] a *sakhī* receives the offended girl in her arms; there is the following inscription:

दोहा ॥ विलषी लषै षरी षरी भरी अनष वैर(ा)ग ।
मृगनैनी सैन न भजै लषि वैनी के दाग ॥

'The injured girl is full of anger and stands and looks (at her lover),
The fawn-eyed maid heeds not the signals of his eyes, but has regard to his burning words.'

The picture reproduced on Plate LXX, B, could be an illustration to

A young thing I, unlearned in lore of love,—
It was the messenger that led me to his side!

It is a night scene; the *dūtikā* is leading the *navala bāla* across the moonlit courtyard to her lover's house. They are met at the door by an expectant maid, who holds in her hand a scent-spray (*attar-dān*) and a torch; the light of the torch throws a heavy shadow behind the two girls who are about to enter. Works of this sort exhibit passages of unsurpassed tenderness; there are examples in the Nala-Damayantī series, to which the present picture, from the collection of Babu Gogonendronath Tagore, is closely related; and I have seen many others.

[1] Kāŋgṛā, late 18th century; my collection, vol. viii, f. 25. A similar picture in vol. viii, f. 47.

[2] *Navala bāla.* 'Nothing can translate *bālā*', says Mr. F. W. Bain, 'It means child, woman, beauty, *beauté-de-diable*. Cf. Skelton's 'I bassed that *baby* with harte so free.'

[3] *Ind(r)a-badhū* is a species of *Acarus*, the 'red velvet insect', but the sense is better conveyed by 'woodlouse'.

[4] Kāŋgṛā, early 19th century; my collection, vol. viii, f. 42.

VIRAHA

I. *Pūrva Rāga*

Viraha, or Love in Separation, is of three varieties. The first of these is *Pūrva Rāga*, the Beginning of Love, when the eyes having met, the desire of union is awakened for the first time.[1] This is again a favourite subject. The Beloved may be seen first in real life, in a dream, or in a picture. The majority of poems and paintings are concerned with meetings in real life; a glimpse from a balcony window, the passing vision of a radiant beauty returning from the temple at the hour of cowdust, or the veiled exchange of glances at the bathing-ghāṭ, and the die is cast! A well-known classification makes ten degrees of Love in Separation, beginning with the Meeting of Eyes, and ending with Death.

The *Meeting of Eyes* is thus represented in a Pahāṛī sketch:[2] a youth looks down from a balcony window at a girl who is crossing the courtyard beneath, their eyes have met, and now her head is bent, and the veil has fallen across her face in a sweeping curve. The inscription runs:

दोहा ॥ जुरे दुहन के द्रिग झमकि रुके न झीने चीर ॥
हलकी फोज हरोल ज्यौ परत गोल पर भीर ॥

'At the meeting of eyes of the twain, she stopped and hung her head, nor lifted her veil,
(She let it drop) as a falcon lightly swoops and falls on a flock of green pigeons.'[3]

Closely related to the meeting of eyes, is the case where the beloved is glimpsed or overlooked, unknown to herself, at her bath, at her toilet, on her way to the temple, or while occupied with her household duties. Pictures of such episodes are common, but I have seen none with inscriptions. But most of those representing the *nāyakā* at her bath may be taken as corresponding to poetical themes such as Vidyāpati's

Beholding that my love was at her bath,
She pierced my heart with arrows five!

A Rājasthānī type very often seen shows a group of girls bathing, as they think, in a lonely place; but the hero passes by, and, hearing the noise of laughter and splashing, finds for himself a coign of vantage, whence to spy unseen. A partly Mughal version of this type is reproduced on Plate XIX. In other examples Rādhā is bathing at home, on a terrace or in a garden, attended by her maidens, and Krishna, usually with the connivance of one of these, takes full advantage of his opportunity; but very often the figure of Krishna is left to the imagination, as in Plate LXXII. In such cases Rādhā is bathing quite alone, or attended by her maidens, but not overlooked, and these correspond to the *dutikās*' descriptions of her charms, like Vidyāpati's

Ah, Mādhava! I saw the fair one freely,
I suddenly beheld her as she bathed . . .
Her jet-black hair poured down her breast,
As though a shaggy yak concealed a golden Liŋgam.

A very charming example of this type is given on Plate LXXII, A. In very many such cases the girl has finished her bathing, and is wringing the water from her heavy hair.[4] These correspond to Vidyāpati's

[1] The meeting of eyes (e.g. Plates XXX, XLIII), where it is not a question of the *first look*, belongs to Love in Union.

[2] Kāŋgṛā, about 1800. My collection, vol. viii, f. 33.

[3] I take *gola para* (perhaps for *gola kara*) as 'making a circle', or 'swooping'. For *jure* and *parata* understand *juṛe and paṛata*.

[4] This wringing of water from the hair is an ancient and widespread motif of Indian art, met with also in Burma and Siam, where it is interpreted in a Buddhist sense as representing the Earth Goddess wringing from her hair the water of merit, when called upon by the Buddha as his witness. A fine Siamese bronze of this subject, belonging to M. de Margerie, was shown at the Musée Cernuschi in 1913. I have a Siamese drawing of the same subject done for me by Bhikku P. C. Jinavaravaṃsa, about 1905. There are two Burmese examples, in stone, in low relief, in the Ethnographisches Museum, Munich.

I saw my love when she was bathing,
A stream of water pouring from her hair,—
The clouds were scattering strings of pearls!

Rājasthānī and Pahāṛī (both Northern and Southern) examples are common. A part of a large cartoon is reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, II, Pl. IV.

Another picture[1] shows the *nāyakā*—always understood to be Rādhā—returning from a visit to the temple at the hour of cowdust; she carries a vessel of water, and is telling her beads, and she wears the thinnest of muslin *sārīs*. The picture itself shows that the painter must have had in mind the same image as had the poet, when he wrote

She left the shrine at cowdust time, passing gliding
Like a flash of lightning mated with a fresh cloud[2] . . .
Bright was her body, shining under wimple with the sheen of gold.

The same figure has been adopted by the Musulmān painter Muḥammad Fakirullah Khān, in a picture showing the *nāyakā* proceeding to her *Śiva pūja*;[3] my own collection includes another highly finished version of the same motif.

The charming picture reproduced on Plate LVI shows Krishna overlooking Rādhā at her cooking.

2. *Māna*

Another phase of Love in Separation is determined by *Māna*, and a whole series of Pahāṛī drawings illustrate the stages of *Māna* and of reconciliation. *Māna* implies coldness, pride and obduracy, caprice or jealousy; in a religious sense it is precisely that self-willing and self-thinking whereby the soul does not hear and see nor yield herself to her Lord.[4] *Māna* is classified as *laghu*, or slight; *madhyama*, or moderate; and *guru*, or heavy: the *guru-māna*, for example, can only be melted when the lover humbles himself and falls at the lady's feet, and this is illustrated in one of the reproductions accompanying the English version of Vidyāpati.[5] The *Mānanī* refuses not only the direct prayers of her lover, but also those which he prefers through a messenger (*dūtikā*). These circumstances are given in Plate LXXIV, A, which could be an illustration of Vidyāpati's

The wrathful face of a lily she would not turn,
She sat unmoved with averted face.

Another drawing of a *Mānanī* represents the reconciliation; the heroine lies on her bed, and has refused to take any notice of her lover; but she raises herself to meet the eyes of her *sakhī*, while Krishna, whom she ignores, is seated at her feet. This picture[6] is inscribed with the following text:

क. ॥ मान कीयौ माननी मनाई नेकहूं न मानिं रिसहूं में सोए रही कपट पट तानकै ॥
अचानकहीं आए देषी चंपत चर्न सषी सेंन दै उठाई पीआ वैठे पग ठान कै ॥
हरि कौ परस जांन जानकै भई अजांन तातें वोली नवल पियारी मुसकानकै ॥
हेरी मेरी प्यारी नेकहूं न रह न्यारी आछौ हम तुम सोऐं एकै सेज एकै पट तानकै ॥ १ ॥

'Angry was the Mānanī, and not the least appeased by any prayers, she lay asleep in wrath and drew the sheet above her head for spite;
Then all of a sudden and softly treading came her *sakhī* on the scene; and sending a message with his eyes, her lover rose and sat at her feet.

[1] Belonging to Mr. N. Blount; reproduced in *Vidyāpati*, 1915, first plate.

[2] One of the many classical similes which persist in Hindī poetry and Rājput painting. Cf. Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-mādhava*, ix. 25.

[3] Reproduced in colours by Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plate CXXVIII. If a Mughal painter, Muhammad Fakirullah Khān had certainly inherited Rājasthānī traditions; but I suspect that he was simply a Musulmān painter working in the 18th century at Jaipur.

[4] In early Buddhism *māna* 'comprises all intrusions of the ego' (Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 119, 220 n.). It has the same significance in Vaiṣṇava poetry.

[5] *Vidyāpati*, trans. by A. K. Coomaraswamy and Arun Sen, London, 1915, eighth plate.

[6] My collection, vol. viii, f. 36.

Albeit she knew full well it was Hari's touch, she made as if she knew it not; the newly-beloved spake to him with a smile—

"O my dear friend (f.), stay not apart, but come, let you and I on one bed sleep, and spread one sheet (above us)."'

Thus the *Mānanī* surrenders, though not in so many words; she intends that Krishna shall accept the invitation nominally extended to the *sakhī*.

Another *Mānanī* drawing[1] shows a girl seated on a wicker stool, with hanging head and bent back; her lover approaches from behind, unseen. The text reads:

कवीत्त ॥ अधर धरधर भुजन सौ भुज भरि   काम की कथान कर रस रीत लीनी हे ॥
नेनन सौ नेन हिंय हिय सौ वढायो चेन   और अंग अंग दिन रेन प्रीत कीनी हे ॥
अमृत जेहिं तू अवतेज अनहिंतू भए   अनहितू हितू यह जुगत नवीनी हे ॥
ईंठ अंग डीठ तेंरे मान मे गुमान कारी   प्यारी तेरी पोठ मे सौ पीठ पें न दीनी हे ॥

'With trembling lips and arm with arm enlinked, a tale of love we told, and went the way of pleasure;
Eye with eye and heart with heart consented freely, limb to limb by night and day we loved;
Honey-sweet wert thou, who now forsooth art grown my foe; new-fangled this united love and hate!
Thy looks, thy body, (hard as) brick, and in thy heart a gloomy pride: O dear one, do not turn thy back thus back to me!'

3. *Pravāsa*

The third phase of *Viraha* is called *Pravāsa*, and this is the separation of the lovers in different countries, as, for example, when Krishna departed from Brindāban to Mathurā. This is typically illustrated in the *Proṣitapreyasī* already described. A later stage results in *Vyādhi*, or sickness, when the form is wasted and the body racked by the fever of longing. Mystically interpreted, *Pravāsa* corresponds to the Dark Night of the Soul. A number of pictures represent the lonely wife or mistress whose darling has gone on a journey; like the deserted *yakṣiṇi* of the *Meghadūtā*. In many cases these unhappy heroines are supporting themselves by holding the branch of a tree. In one example[3] the moon is shining brightly, and the girl carries a fan; she is scorched by the fire of love, even while the cool moon is shining on her. The text reads:

दाहा ॥ पिआ निकट जिन के नही   घाम चांदनी ताह ।
पिआ निकट जिन के रहे   घाम चांदनी ताह ॥ २ ॥ शुभम् ॥

'For her whose darling is far away, the moonlight burns with the heat of the sun:
For her whose darling is near at hand, the heat of the sun is moonlight-cool.'[4]

The sufferings of divided lovers are accentuated in the season of rain (*Varṣā*). Thus Vidyāpati:

Impenetrable clouds are thundering incessantly,
And all the world is full of rain;
Kānta is stone, and Love is cruel,
A rain of arrows pierces me!

Here, again, it is just that which delights united lovers, which increases their suffering when separated. This theme also may be dealt with in the Pahāṛī drawings; in one such,[5] for example, a lady stands on a terrace, pointing to the stormy clouds, while she makes complaint to her *sakhī* of her lover's absence. In the accompanying text, the clouds are likened to the host of mighty elephants that were slain by Bhīmasen in Bharat's fight, and the *Virahinī* complains that she has

[1] Late Kāŋgrā; my collection, vol. viii, f. 60.

[2] Occasionally suggesting a Persian source. But more likely connected with the old Indian motif of Woman and Tree, which, if not originally Indian, was introduced into India very early (Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 380–2).

[3] Drawing in red, Kāŋgṛā, about 1800, vol. viii, f. 59.

[4] Cf. 'The moon appears melancholy to those that are sad, and joyous to those who are happy.' (Japanese schoolboy's essay quoted by Lafcadio Hearn.)

[5] Drawing in red, Kāŋgṛā, about 1800, with eight lines of *kavitta*.

endured through the autumn, winter, and summer, only to suffer the more in the month of Asar. Most likely this verse and picture belong to some set of illustrations to a *Bāramāsa*, or poem on the twelve months.

In another drawing[1] of the same kind the *Virahinī* or *Proṣita-preyasī* dismisses her maids and stands alone upon the roof, making her prayer to the passing clouds. This has the following verse:

कवित्त ॥ गरजत घन सुन सरद मयकमुषी   वरजत सषन पे चढी हें अटन पे ॥
भूम भरयाई विंदु देष सुगनाई   नेंके कान दे रही मोर चाचक रटन पे ॥
चूनरी सुरंग रंग पेहरें कुरंगनेनी   सिरसि के फूल वारीं नाज की लटन पे ॥
देंषे भए हें स्याम तो वताओ प्यारे घनस्याम   छटन सी ठाढी पूछें पवर घटन टन पे ॥ १ ॥

(l. 2 for चाचक read चातक.)

'When she hears the thundering of the autumn clouds, the moon-face bids her *sakhīs* not to go upon the roof,
And seeing that the ground was full of drops of rain, the friendly *nāyakās* gave ear unto the (pleasant) crying of the peacocks and the *cātakas*:
The fawn-eyed lady wears a spotted veil that's bright of hue, and *śirīṣ* flowers are deftly woven in her tresses,
With waning pride she stands and looks and prays the lightning and the leaden clouds "Give me news of my dear Dark One."'

A good number of drawings represent a girl offering food to a parrot that has escaped from its cage. The parrot is the only diversion of the deserted wife. One such drawing[2] is inscribed:

दोहा ॥ जवतें भावन द्वैविध   गए चाड मोह्र तीर ॥
वेग आयो तरसता हीयें   कीर नाह द्वे पीर ॥ १ ॥

'Since my Lord deceitfully went and has left me here on this shore,
Come quickly, O parrot, do not pain this troubled heart a second time.'

(*Dvaividha*=with duplicity. She begs the parrot not to add to her sorrows.)

Another phase of Pravāsa called *Smaraṇa*, the remembrance of past union (the third degree of love-sickness), is exemplified in pictures where the *nāyakā* is represented as gazing pensively at the amorous sport of her pet birds.

Other drawings represent the *nāyakā*—who is generally indicated or understood to be Rādhā—as in the later stages of love-sickness, such as the seventh, called *Viyādhi*, when the body is wasted by the fever of love. A good example will be found on Plate XXVII, A. In this picture, of the early 17th century school of Jammu, the girl is stretched upon her bed, which is covered with cool lotus leaves, and her maids are offering her cooling draughts and garlands of lotus flowers while fanning her.

The situation is very well described by Vidyāpati:

The fire of sundering from herself devours her body in its flames . . .
To-day or to-morrow she is like to die,
Such burning love she bears!
Refreshing water, lotus leaves upon her bed,
Or oynement of sandal paste,
Each and all are flames of fire . . .
All night she wends and wakes.

[1] Kāŋgṛā, 19th century. My collection, vol. viii, f. 63.
[2] Coloured drawing, Kāŋgṛā, about 1800. My collection, vol. viii, f. 31.

A later picture[1] very similar to this has the following text by the poet Dev:

(कवित्र) ॥ वालम विरह जिह जान्यो न जनम भरि   वरि वरि उठै ज्यों ज्यों वरसै वरफ राति ॥
वीजन डुलावति सषीजन त्यों सीतहं में   सौति के सताप तन तापन तरफराति ॥
देवं कहै सास नहि असुवा सुषाति मुष   निकसै न वात कंठ सिसकी सरफराति ॥
लोटि लोटि परति करोट षट पाटी लै लै   सूषे जल सफरी ज्यों सेज पर फरफराति ॥१॥

'In all her life she has not known the pain of separation from her lord, and howsoe'er (her maids) put ice (upon her breast) she rises up at night,
And though her *sakhīs* ply the fan, and eke in winter-time, her body trembles in her burning jealousy of the other wife:
O Dev! she utters only sighs, the tears are never dry (upon her cheeks), no word comes from her mouth, her throat (is choked) with sobbing, she turns from side to side,
She turns and tumbles to and fro and lies upon the bedstead's edge, and, like a *sapharī* (fish) that's out of water, jumps convulsively upon the bed.'

Another and more unusual subject is reproduced in Plate LXX, A; the painter is shown at work, painting upon the wall the likeness of a lonely woman and her absent lord. The painter, with a very true appreciation of Indian ways, is represented in the accompanying text as having long delayed to carry out the appointed work; he comes at last, however, and we see him engaged on it. We need not suppose that anything like a realistic portrait is contemplated; in such cases the painters would have been quite content to represent types. In any event the picture is of considerable interest as almost the only representation of the methods of work of the Pahāṛī painters to be found in any collection (there are, however, some portraits of Kāŋgṛā painters in the Lahore Museum). The text (probably composed by the painter) inscribed on the present picture reads as follows:

कवित्त ॥ साझ ते भोर लों भोर तें सांझ लों वासर वीतत जात महीनौ ॥
पीर पराई तूं जांनै कहा सु तो जांनत है वह कान्ह प्रवीनों ॥
दीनों में कागद कोरों तिहोरों कि कंचन के जलवो निवीनों ॥
ऐरे चितेरे वितेरे किते दिन मित्र को चित्र न तै लिषि दीनों ॥
दोहा ॥ तुमरी तुमरे मित्र की सूरत लिषों वनाऐ ॥
विछुरों प्रीतम चित्र में छिन में देहो मिलाऐं ॥

She (Rādhā): 'From evening to morning, and morning to evening the days are passing, and months go by:
What do you know of the woes of another? Only the sapient Krishna understands.
I gave you clean paper, fresh and shining like glass,
Ha, painter! how many days have gone by and you have not drawn the picture of my friend.'

He (the painter): 'I shall so prepare the portrait of you and your friend,
That instantly shall the bodies of the divided lovers meet in the picture.'

Crow-craft. Closely related to the *Proṣita-preyasī*, as well as to the *Vāsakśayyā Nāyakā*, is the heroine who draws omens of her lover's return from the behaviour of crows.

A number of Pahāṛī pictures represent a heroine addressing a crow; the girl stands at the door of her house, and the bird is in a tree or on a roof. In some cases the bed is being spread for the expected husband. The explanation of these pictures is to be found in the fact that the crow is regarded as the messenger of separated lovers, and the crow's behaviour affords an omen.[2] Hence it is that Vidyāpati advises:

This is the cure for sundering's sorrow—
Avoiding the cuckoo and taking sweets in hand,
Loudly summon the crows.

[1] Kāŋgṛā, 18th century; my collection, vol. viii, f. 39.

[2] Cf. the reference to 'crow-craft' in the *Brahma-jala sutta*, 22 (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 19).

A partly coloured Pahāṛī sketch[1] has the following Pañjābī inscription:

कवित ॥ जां ह्याडी आस सपुरण हो गतां सुने रूपे थुआडी चुंज मढायाम् ॥
मोपला घीउ गुड पाई भला भले चुरीयाद्दी तुकी चोग चुगायाम् ॥
जीते घडी तुला राम मिले मेकी जिते घडी घडी ईक ना लायाम् ॥
ते जे दीषी करी कंत ह्याडा घरे आंउद्दा अज्जंतां उडर कायाम् ॥ १ ॥

'If my desire be fulfilled, on hearing the news from you I shall make your beak to be plated with silver,
I shall give you to eat a ladle of excellent *curī* mixed with sugar and *ghī*:
Let me behold Tulā Rāma while yet I live, but bring him not only for a single hour!
If you have seen my Lord a-coming home, then fly away from the cornice, thou crow!'

Here the heroine is, in fact, a *Vāsakaśayyā Nāyakā*; for she stands at her door expectant, while the bed is prepared in an upper chamber.

SAṂYOGA

The phases of Love in Union—where the lover may actually see and touch the beloved—are treated at great length by the rhetoricians: the drawings and pictures likewise are too many to be described in detail. Typical examples occur in every series of illustrations of the Krishna Līlā; others are to be found in the unique Nala-Damayantī series. Amongst the latter, some of the most delightful represent the lovers seated side by side, and hand in hand, in rapturous admiration of the setting sun or the rising moon.[2] The same series, and some separate drawings by the same hand, include also a number of love scenes of the utmost intimacy; and in these the artist of the Vaiṣṇava tradition is able to combine the utmost frankness with the utmost tenderness and innocence. Love in Union culminates in Identity; in the words of Vidyāpati, 'Each is both.'

With the exception of a few Śaiva subjects treated from the standpoint of romance, the love-scenes reproduced here properly belong to the Krishna Līlā, and doubtless all depend on the work of the Vaiṣṇava poets. But it will be convenient to describe here those of the love-scenes which treat of episodes not referred to in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; for here was an ample field for poet and painter alike to represent the glory of the world according to their own experience.

The Bonds of Love. Few Pahāṛī paintings are more attractive than the fragment reproduced on Plate XLI. In order to understand this subject, it should be explained that a *cakarī*, or whirligig—a familiar toy throughout India, from Ceylon to the Himālayas—consists of a small wooden, metal, or ivory wheel, of which the rim is deeply grooved; a string (*caka-ḍora*) is attached to the hub within the groove, and by raising and lowering the hand the string is wound and unwound so that the wheel runs up and down. For this reason the *cakarī* is a symbol of restlessness, like the *cakora* and *khañjana* birds. The theme of the picture now under consideration, however, is connected with the string of the *cakarī*, rather than with the movement of the *cakarī* proper.

The picture shows Rādhā and Krishna on a terrace, with a background of meadow and lake. Rādhā has just come out of the house to the right; she stoops to loosen the string of a *cakarī* that Krishna has thrown to her; the string is entangled with her bracelets, and while she seeks to loosen it, Krishna lifts her chin.

The following text, detached from another picture, fully explains the intention:

हरि निकसे चकडोर फिरावत हों निकसी वज्र सांकरी षोरी ॥
षकरी ईन मो तन डारीदियो झरक्यो कगन ऊत पाट की डोरी ॥
कगनान नवारन मे निझरी ऊत ठोडी ऊठाय के पूछत षोरी ॥
ब्रह्म भने षंटक्यो मन सो मन छुटत गांठ न टूटत डोरी ॥

[1] My collection, vol. viii, f. 44. Cf. ibid., f. 45. Also 'Journal of Indian Art', No. 128, Fig. 12 (my collection, vol. ii, f. 96).

[2] *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plate x, 4.

'Hari came forward twisting the string of a *cakarī*, and I came forth with all my braids unbound;
The *cakarī* he cast on my body and gave a jerk of its silken string about my bracelets;
I bent to set the bracelets free, he lifted my chin and asked, "Are you freed?" (I made reply:)
"By the word of God, heart is entangled with heart, and even though knot be loosed, the bond may never break!"'

Līlā-hāva. In another picture[1] there is illustrated the phase of love-expression described by rhetoricians under this name. Rādhā and Krishna are walking towards a grove, across a meadow: Krishna wears Rādhā's bodice, veil, and skirt, Rādhā wears his crown, his yellow coat, and garland of flowers, and she carries his flute and a lotus flower. The text reads:

दोहा ॥ राधा हरि हरि राधा के वनिश्राऐ संकेत ॥
दंपति रति विपरीत सुष सैहज सुरतह्रं लेत ॥ १ ॥

'The station of Rādhā being made Hari, and Hari Rādhā:
The twain with affections reversed, even in such disguise, easily (win their) bliss.'

This exchange of clothes is a mark of love and identity, and is often referred to in this connexion in Vaiṣṇava poetry.[2] It is the *Līlā-hāva* of Keśava Dāsa[3] and other rhetoricians:

Wheresoever play is enjoyed, the lover disguised as beloved,
There originates *Līlāhāva*, says Keśava Dāsa.

A somewhat similar motif is that of the Kāŋgrā drawings reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plate XII, where Rādhā's *sakhīs* are dressing her in the clothes of Krishna. They are taking away her *dopaṭṭa*, and handing over Krishna's cap and his flute.

Krishna Mana-choṛa. The idea of the chase of the soul, familiar to Western mysticism in 'The Hound of Heaven', is represented in the Krishna Līlā under the image of seduction. Krishna is the Great Deceiver (*baṛe kapaṭī*), the Young Blade (*chaila*), the Thief of Hearts (*mana-choṛa*), who lies in wait for the Braja girls as they go about their daily tasks. Countless songs repeat this theme; the following is typical:

Whenever I fare to Jamunā *ghāṭ* to fill my jars
He catches hold of my dress and grips my hand,
Whenever I go to Gokula selling milk, he interferes with my affairs. . . .
He takes me by the wrist and shuts my mouth, he catches me and clasps me close,—
I will make a complaint to Rājā Kaṅs, then shall I fear thee nothing!

Drawings and pictures of the same type are abundant.[4] In one recurring type Krishna is represented as following Rādhā, but he cannot overtake her, for she will not listen to his pleading. The example reproduced on Plate XLVII has the inscription:

(क.) ॥ दूरही तें आवत अचानकहीं दृष्ट परें उन मुख मोर हसि दाहिनि गलीई ले ॥
टेर रहे कान्ह नेक ठाढी ह्वै सुनिलेझ सुनीहै जू सुनीहै सुनोंहै केहत चलीगई ॥

'Coming from afar, suddenly she hove in sight; and turning her face to him with a smile, she took the right-hand road!
Krishna was shouting, "Wait one moment, hear my prayer", but she replied, "I hear, my Lord, I hear, I hear", and went away.'

In another sketch[5] a similar text is given at greater length:

(कवि)त्त ॥ छैल वृज चंद छल करि गहि इस्यों गैल नायका चतुर जैसे चंपे की क(लि ह)ई ॥
सुनि षोर आवत निरष मन फूल्यो गात भेट भऐ आज धन जीवन ( ) भई ॥
निरषत नैन सर मै नसे लगाए नार उन मुष मोरि हसि दाहनी (गली) लई ॥
कंन्ह कहि रहे नक ठाढी होहि सुनिजाहि सुनोंहै जू सनी (है क) हत चलीगई ॥

[1] Kāŋgrā-Garhwāl, about 1800. Vol. viii, f. 35.

[2] Cf. Coomaraswamy and Sen, *Vidyāpati*, 1915, p. 176.

[3] *Rasikapriyā*, *Bhāvalakṣaṇa*, 21. Dhanamjaya, *Daśa-rūpa*, II, 60, has: '*Līlā* is the imitation of a lover in the actions of a fair-limbed maiden.'

[4] Some of these might be as well, perhaps better, classified under the heading of *Pūrva Rāga*.

[5] A rough sketch, partly shaded, Kāŋgrā, early 19th century; my collection, vol. viii, f. 37.

'Yonder blade, the Moon of Braj, as he went along, contrived to catch up with an artful maid (*nāyakā*) like a jasmine bud;
Hearing his step and seeing him coming, her heart and body expanded; meeting there was, and to-day she found both life and wealth.
Her gazing eyes were sunk in her head, and turning her face to him with a smile, the woman took the right-hand road (*galī*);
Kānha stood still, and said, "Wait one moment, hear my prayer"; but she replied, "I hear, my Lord, I hear", and went away.'

Another version[1] of a similar subject shows Rādhā and Krishna, again in the street (*galī*) of a town, and she avoids him by entering the door of her house: there is a different text, but partly defaced, of which the first line runs:

मोहन के मनभाय गयो इक भायसो ग्वालनी गोधन गयौ ॥

'Afraid of Mohan, a frightened milkmaid entered the cowshed.'

Sheltering from rain. There is another song that begins:

I delayed by that lovesick lad, the rain-drops pattered down, the lightning flashed, and all was soaking wet.'

And this is paralleled in numerous pictures of Rādhā and Krishna sheltering from the rain beneath a common umbrella, a single shawl, or simply a leafy tree. A drawing[2] of Rādhā and Krishna sheltering under one large umbrella has the following inscription:

(क.) ॥ आये महादारन मघवा के घनघोर जोर तोर तोरडारे द्रुम झुक झैराये के ॥
चौचले न कंजपुंज सीत भये भीत दोउ येक पट स्याम सीं रहे लपटाये के ॥
तव हरि राधका उछंग गह्यो छत्र डंड घन के घुमंडे तहा वरस्यो हे अघाये के ॥
वीती हे वीभात परे ऐकही छीता के वीच मानो तीन लोक की छपी है चवाये के ॥

'The terrible storm of the month of Māgha (Jan.–Feb.) came in its strength, breaking and bending and beating the trees,
The groves were unpleasing, cold prevailed, both were afraid, and under one cloth she clung to Śyāma,
Now did the shaft of Hari and Rādhā's umbrella bend aside, and then from the gathering of clouds fell heavy rain:
When day reappeared, there as it were in a single picture shone resplendent the Three Worlds' beauty.'

A somewhat different composition is reproduced on Plate LVIII; here Rādhā and Krishna are sheltered beneath a common shawl, and the other *gopas* and *gopīs* are making the best of such shelter as they can find. This picture has the following inscription:

कवित ॥ केकि कि पुकार धुरवान कि धुकार महां झील्लि झूकार डग पर्त न मेरि हे

'Crying of peahens, calling of yokels, shrill crickets screaming, not a step can I take!'

A word is missing at the end of the line.

These pictures of Krishna and Rādhā sheltering from the rain must not be confused with those of Krishna sheltering the inhabitants of Gokula from the storm of Indra, by lifting up Mt. Govardhana, referred to on p. 34.

Other conditions of Saṃyoga are illustrated on Plates XXX, XLI, XLIII.

[1] A Kāŋgṛā sketch, late 18th century; my collection, vol. ii, f. 28.

[2] Kāŋgṛā, 18th century; my collection, vol. ix, f. 36. If *chatra* be substituted for *paṭa* in the second line of the text, it will suit the picture better; 'one cloth' is appropriate to the picture reproduced on Plate LVIII.

A late Rājasthānī version of this subject, by 'Mani', is reproduced by A. Gayet in *L'Art Persan* (Paris, 1895), and absurdly entitled by him 'Adam and Eve'. It is impossible to allow that this 'Mani' could have painted in the 16th century or founded a school in Persia. As a mythical Persian artist Mānī is perhaps to be identified with the founder of Manichaeism.

CHAPTER III

ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ

Śaiva and Śākta subjects are well represented amongst Rājput paintings, chiefly those of Pahāṛī origin.

Śiva and Pārvatī as Himālaya-dwellers. Śiva and Pārvatī are represented as they are described in the Epics and in the classic Drama. He is above all the Himālayan Mahādeva, a fair ascetic figure, having the crescent moon upon his brow, three-eyed, long-haired, having a blue-stained throat and a serpent necklace, clad in a tiger or leopard skin, bearing a trident (*triśūla*), ascetic's gourd (*kamaṇḍalu*) and tabor (*ḍamaru*), and his body smeared with white ashes; he wanders with his bull Nandi through the Himālayan valleys, poor and homeless; he eats the intoxicating fruit of the *Datura* (Plate LXIV). His wife is Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya, a purely human figure, the ideal of a Hindū wife, as she is depicted in the beautiful dialogue of Śiva and Pārvatī reported in the *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana Parva, cxlvi). These twain are often accompanied by their children Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeyya. They make their camp by a *yogī's* fire. Such representations are often informed with a warm lyrical feeling, and in particular, the whole story of Śiva's marriage is treated from a romantic standpoint, strongly recalling that of Kālīdāsa's *Kumāra-śambhava.* The picture reproduced on Plate LXV, for example, might well be an illustration to the eighth canto, where following Śiva's marriage, the honeymoon is spent amongst the Himālayan forests. Pārvatī has fallen asleep, even while Śiva tells her of the beauty of the night.

The full story of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī I have seen serially illustrated in a portfolio in the *toṣi-khāna* at Maṇḍi; and the drawing reproduced on Plate LXIII, evidently by the author of the Nala-Damayantī series (Plate LXII) of Kāŋgṛā, is from a similar collection. Here the method of continuous narration is employed, and three episodes are represented in one drawing. It is a night scene, illumined by the burning torches of the attendants, and the Himālayan peaks are clear-cut against the cloudless sky. On the left hand is the marriage pavilion, and the ceremony having been completed, Śiva is taking freakish pleasure in tormenting the officiating Brāhman; immediately to the right, he makes amends, still more to the Brāhman's embarrassment, by bending to take the dust of his feet. Above this we are shown an interior scene where some other ceremonies (perhaps a *nāndī-śrāddha*) are in progress; Himālaya and Menā, the parents of Pārvatī, are seated behind the married pair, and the Brāhman already mentioned, is now himself taking the dust of Śiva's feet, and receiving his blessing. The whole drawing, both in respect of its partly humorous details, characteristic of the folk-conception of Śiva, its representation of Pārvatī's veiled shyness, and in its beautiful draughtsmanship, is of much interest.

Nearly all of the Śaiva and Śākta pictures are of interest from the standpoint of landscape, for there is an intimate connexion between the deity and his mountain home. Śiva, the homeless and wandering *yogī,* is essentially the genius of wild and lonely places, remote from the haunts of men; his are the great mountains and the wild forests, just as the flowery groves and peaceful riverside and the village streets are the true home of Krishna. For Rudra-Śiva-Mahādeva, and Vishnu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva-Hari-Krishna are the two extremes of Indian theology, the aspects under which God is apprehended in the forest and in the home. To one or to the other the soul will turn according to its needs, only to find at last that these two are one and the same Īśvara.

The mountain background, against which Śiva and Durgā (the *rājasic* aspect of Pārvatī) loom so great, is well seen in the picture reproduced on Plate L, B, which reminds me strongly of the northern mountain wall of the Kāŋgṛā valley. Here Durgā rides upon her tiger, and she is eight-armed and furnished with weapons, while Śiva marches in front bearing his *triśūla* and triangular banner.

Śiva's dance. The conception of Śiva's cosmic dance, familiar in the south Indian figures of Nāṭaraja, does not appear amongst the northern paintings; but certain other dances are represented. In the picture[1] reproduced on Plate LXVI, Śiva is dancing on the golden floor of heaven, while Pārvatī is present in a *rājasic* four-armed aspect, as Rājrājeśvarī. All the gods and *rishis* and the *gandharvas* play the part of chorus. This appears to be the evening dance (*saṃdhya nṛtta*) of Śiva alluded to in the *Bhāratīya Nātya Śāstra*, iv. 13, and in the invocation of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*,[2] and described as follows in the *Śiva Pradoṣa Stotra*.

'Placing the Mother of the Three Worlds upon a golden throne, studded with precious gems, Śalapāṇi dances on the heights of Kailās, and all the *devas* gather round him.

'Sarasvatī plays on the *vīṇā*, Indra on the flute, Brahmā holds the cymbals marking time, Lakṣmī begins a song, Vishnu plays on a drum, and all the *devas* stand round about.

'Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Patagas, Uragas, Siddhas, Saddhyas, Vidyādharas, Amaras, Apsarasas, and all the beings dwelling in the Three Worlds assemble there to witness the celestial dance and hear the music of the divine choir at the hour of twilight.'

Śiva and Pārvatī enthroned. Another Kailāsa picture represents Śiva seated with Pārvatī in a golden pavilion above the summits of the Himālayas, while amongst the mountains below innumerable *yogīs* and *vairāgīs* are making their way towards their goal. This picture has the following Sanskrit text:

कैलासाग्रे कदाचिद्रविशतविमले मन्दिरे रत्नपीठे संविष्टं ध्यानानिष्टं त्रिनयनमभयं सेवितं सिद्धसंघैः
देवी वामाङ्कसंस्था गिरिवरतनया पार्वती भक्तिनम्रा प्राहेदं देवमीशं सकलहितकरं वाक्यानन्दकन्दम् ॥ १॥ श्रीशिवायनमः ॥

'To the divine Īśvara (Śiva), seated upon the summit of Kailāsa, within a shrine bright as a hundred suns, upon a gem-set throne, intent on meditation fearlessly resorted to by the Siddha host, upon a day,

'Pārvatī Devī, daughter of the Mountain, humble in devotion, seated upon his left thigh, spake this sentence for the good of all, the root of bliss: Hail to Śiva!'

Śiva and Śakti in the lotus of the heart. The picture above referred to (p. 40),[3] in which Śiva and Pārvatī are seated within the pendent flower of a white lotus, has the following Sanskrit inscription:

ओम् ॥ श्वेतं श्वेतविलेपमाल्यवसनं वामेन रक्तोत्पलं
विभ्रत्या प्रिययेतरेण तरसाश्लिष्टं प्रसन्नाननम् ॥
हस्ताभ्यामभयं वरंच दधतं प्रांशु स्वरूपं परं
हालालोहितलोचनोत्पलयुगं ध्यायेच्छिरस्ज्ञे गुरुम् ॥ १ ॥

'Oṃ! Let (the worshipper) with folded hands upon his head, meditate upon the Guru robed in white, with the fragrance of white flowers, his hands in *abhaya* and *vara* pose (indicating "Fear not" and "Bestowing"), wearing his own resplendent form, his two lotus eyes reddened by poison, and embraced by his beloved, whose face is radiant and who bears a rose lotus in her left hand.'

The birth of Gaṅgā. A favourite subject is the legend of the descent of the Ganges[4]; a good example of this subject is reproduced on Plate LXV. In pictures of this type we see Śiva and Pārvatī seated by a *yogī* fire, while a little below stands Bhagīratha, the great-grandson of Sagara, by whose austerities the Ganges was brought down from heaven for the lustration of the slain sons of Sagara. The river fell first upon the head of Śiva, and was lost in the wilderness of his matted locks; and only the further penances of Bhagīratha moved the Great God to set her free; she is represented as falling in a fountain from his head on to the earth below; and truly, it is to the god of the Himālayas that the Hindūs owe the waters of their most sacred river, for were it not for these mountains and these forests, what should draw down the waters from the monsoon clouds?

[1] Reproduced in colour in *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, Plate II. The original in the collection of Babu Gagonendronath Tagore. Another in my collection, vol. viii, f. 17.

[2] *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, translated by Tawney, Calcutta, 1880, p. 1.

[3] My collection, vol. iii, f. 36. The text is a typical *dhyāna mantram*.

[4] Vālmikī's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Valakāṇḍam. My collection includes four other Pahārī pictures and drawings of the same subject (vol. iii, ff. 12, 13, 25).

Śakti. It has already been observed that Pārvatī may also assume the form of a *rājasic* many-armed goddess, riding upon a tiger. We must understand that Śiva, the great *yogī*, is more contemplative than active in character, while it is his Śakti—Devī, Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā, Kauśikī, Kālī—who is the mother of the worlds of sensation, and who fights the battles of the gods against the demons. The essential worship of the Śākta sects is that of God as the Mother; to these worshippers of Śakti, the supreme deity is feminine. This view is expressed in the following verses of a hymn included in the *Devī-bhāgavata*:[1]

I call to mind the Mother of the whole Universe,
Who has created this world of the real and unreal,
And who by Her own energy, with its three modes,
Protects it, destroys it and plays.
I take refuge with Her, the Mother of all
Who exists in all in the form of energy.

and in the following attributed to Śaŋkarācārya:

Shineth forth the Devī, born of the snowy mountains,
Her beautiful hands are like some rosy leaf . . .
It is She with whom Śiva seeks shelter:
Who stoops beneath the weight of Her breasts,
Whose words are sweet,
The Destroyer of sickness,
Ever and all pervading,
Tender vine of Wisdom and Joy.

Śakti as demon-slayer. The Cāṇḍī Parva of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* describes the great battles undertaken by Devī on behalf of the *devas*, and in particular, her defeat of the buffalo-demon Mahiṣāsura.[2] In older Brāhmaṇical art, as well as in the Pahāṛī paintings, Devī is constantly represented in this character of Mahiṣamardinī, the slayer of Mahiṣa. There is the closest resemblance of conception between such pictures as that reproduced on Plate LXVIII and the stone relief of the same subject at Māmallapuram (7th–8th century).[3] In the Pahāṛī painting, Durgā, accompanied by the *gaṇas* of Śiva, drives forward on her tiger-drawn car to battle with the great buffalo who rushes against her. On her side all is light and clear, but over against her all is overshadowed by heavy clouds and the black body of the buffalo; from that side also the fore-wind of the approaching storm sweeps towards the goddess, bending back the branches of the trees and tossing the locks of the *gaṇas.* In the whole range of Pahāṛī painting there is scarcely anything more animated and more charming than the two groups of Śiva's boy hosts, who are represented in the literature and the older sculpture in dwarf or even less sympathetic forms.

Another picture type equally resembling older designs well known from India and Java,[4] recurs more frequently; here Durgā rests her foot upon the buffalo, and is about to slay the demon himself, as he emerges in the form of a dwarf from the buffalo's severed neck, while Durgā's tiger buries his teeth in the severed head. Gods and *rishis* gaze upon the scene in amazement. In many representations Durgā is aided by her *tāmasic* emanation Kālī. In other pictures the conflict is not with Mahiṣa in particular, but with the *asura* hosts in general. In these, the figure of Kālī is often drawn with admirable skill and understanding; she is represented as an aged and unlovely woman, four-armed, dark-complexioned, with pendant breasts, and a fiery tongue that she stretches forth to lap up the demon hosts in its scorching flame.[5]

Another demon-slaying picture is reproduced in Plate XXVI, A. Here Durgā is seated on the flank of a dark and towering mountain, and has flung against the *asura* some weapon that devours

[1] Skandha I, ch. ii.
[2] See also the *Mahiṣamardinī stotra* of the *Tantrasāra*, translated by Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, p. 88.
[3] *Viśvakarmā*, Plate XLV.
[4] Ibid., Plate XXXVII.
[5] *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plates XVI, A and XVII. Others in my collection, vol. iii, ff. 5–7; also a good example belonging to Mr. William Rothenstein.

him in flames. The lurid colouring of the original adds to its dramatic effect, and much of this is lost in the reproduction, where the dark mountain is not distinguished from the horizon. This work is inscribed with the following Sanskrit text:

इत्युक्तः सोभ्यधावत्तामसुरोधूम्रलोचनः ॥
हुंकारेणैव तं भस्मसाचकाराम्बिका ततः ॥ ६ ॥

'Thus it is said: She destroyed the *asura* Dhumralocana (Smoke-eye),
Making the sound of *Huṃ*,[1] forsooth, Ambikā burnt him to ashes then and there.'

Another moment of the demon-slaying Devī is represented in Plate L, A. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* it is explained that the *devas* were oppressed by the *asuras* Śumbha and Niśumbha, and repaired to the Himālayas to invoke the aid of the goddess. Then came forth from her the emanation known as Śivā or Ambikā, and said that she it was whom the gods had invoked to destroy the demons; she is called Kauśikī, because she sprang from the *kośa* or frame of Devī's body. Our picture is inscribed with the following Sanskrit text from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:

शरीर कोशतस्यास्या समुद्भूता ब्रवीच्छिवा ॥
कौशिकीति समस्तेषु ततो लोकेषु गीयते ॥
ददर्श चंडो मुंडश्च भृत्यौ शुंभ निशुंभयोः ॥

'Sprung from Her bodily frame, Śivā spake (and thus is Kauśikī sung in every sphere), she appeared to Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, the servants of Śumbha and Niśumbha.'[2]

In the *tāmasic* aspects of Devī she is essentially the Destroyer, the Terrible; and the Śāktas say that the sweet and complete resignation of the self to such dread forms of the Divine Power is characteristic of the highest stages of spiritual development.[3] 'Though the Mother beat him', says Rāmaprasāda, 'the child cries "Mother, Mother", and clings the tighter to her garment.'[4] We find, for example, Kālī and Śiva dancing together in the cremation ground, surrounded by half-burnt corpses and dancing goblins. In another drawing Pārvatī is seated in the cremation ground beside her Lord, stringing for him a garland of the heads of the slain—the heads of a myriad Brahmās. Kālī rejoices in the battlefield and in the deaths of men. A very beautiful picture reproduced here (Plate LXVIII) represents her as the Power of Dissolution (Saṃhāra-śakti); she has slain and devoured a king of men, whose cast-off raiment lies by her feeding bowl, while with one of her four dark hands she pours the water of lustration on his bones; for all alike must fall at the hands of Time. In this work also the relations of Puruṣa and Prakṛiti—Being and Becoming—are clearly expressed; for Śiva is represented by the silent *liṅgam* in the shrine, while it is the Goddess who acts and moves.

[1] A terrible sound of roaring and threatening, uttered by Devī in her battles.

[2] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇā*, ch. lxxxv.

[3] 'For the Mother is only terrible to those who, living in the illusion of separateness (which is the cause of all fear), have not yet realized their unity with Her, and known that all her forms are those of beauty.'—Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, p. 3.

Death has no terrors for the self that is one with That 'which is not slain when the body is slain'—*na hanyate hanyamāne śarīre*—but becomes a spectacle that awakens a profound and lyrical intuition.

Cf. 'Quand il aperçoit les êtres qui se détruisent les uns les autres, toute jeunesse qui se fane, toute vigueur qui fléchit, tout génie qui s'éteint, quand il voit face à face la volonté qui décréta toutes ces sombres lois, plus que jamais il jouit de savoir et, rassasié de vérité, il est formidablement heureux.'—Rodin, *L'Art*, ch. ii.

[4] Dinesh Chunder Sen, *History of Bengālī Literature*, p. 714.

CHAPTER IV

THE EPICS

PROBABLY if we could survey the whole development of Indian painting from beginning to end we should find that the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* afford its most constantly repeated themes. Apart even from the Hindī *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasī Dāsa, the great epics represent the household literature of India, and with the Purāṇas have formed the general medium of popular education. These epics enshrine the models upon which character is shaped, and it is through their popularity that Brāhmanical culture has deeply permeated the whole community. It is in this way that the whole nation has been raised to a level of high cultivation without feeling the necessity for universal literacy.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA

The epic stories have been so often retold in English that it appears unnecessary to do more than summarize them here.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma, an avatar of Vishnu, is heir to the throne of Ayodhyā. By the intrigue of his mother-in-law Kaikeyī, he is banished for fourteen years, while his brother Bharata acts as Regent. Rāma takes up his abode in the sub-Himālayan forests, with his wife Sītā and brother Lakṣmana. While living in the forests, Sītā is carried off by the demon Rāvaṇa, who appears in the guise of a Brāhman, while Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are decoyed away by a magic deer. There follows a great war for the recovery of Sītā; in this war Rāma is aided by Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīṣaṇa, and by a great army of bears and monkeys, above all the redoubtable Hanuman. The siege of Laŋkā, the stronghold of Rāvaṇa, is long and bloody; in the end Rāvaṇa is slain and Sītā recovered, and all return to Ayodhyā in triumph. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed by Vālmīki, and by him taught to Kusi and Lava, the two sons of Sītā [1] (Plate LXI).

The Siege of Laŋkā. The most important serial illustrations are those represented in Plates XXI–XXIV. Of this series I have six coloured examples and nine sketches; these measure 33 × 24 inches, and were originally preserved in a large portfolio. They come from the Jammu area, and date from the earlier part of the 17th century. The whole series may have extended to fifty or a hundred numbers; it is unique in size and historical importance. To be associated with these is the sketch reproduced on Plate XXV.

The Rāmāyaṇa subject reproduced on Plate XXI illustrates the episode of the *rākṣasa* spies Śuka and Sāraṇa, and is inscribed behind with six and a half *ślokas* of the twenty-fourth [2] chapter of the Laŋkākāṇḍam of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki; the inscription begins:

तौ ददर्श महामायौ प्रतिछन्नौ विभीषणः ॥ ग्रहयित्वा महातेजौ वानरैर्वानरोपमौ ॥

and ends with the rubric

इत्यार्षे रामायणे महर्षिवाल्मीकिविरचिते श्रीरामचरिते चतुर्विंशति साहस्र्यां सांहितायां लंकाकांडे विभीषणेन शुकसारण-ग्रहणं शुकसारणौ प्रति श्रीरामचंद्रसरोषवाक्यं ॥

giving the subject of the picture as 'The capture of Śuka and Sāraṇa by Vibhīṣaṇa and the stern speech of Śrī Rāmacandra'.

[1] The Mahārājā of Benares possesses an 18th–19th-century manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rāmacarita-mānasa*) of Tulasī Dāsa, illustrated by many pictures, not very meritorious, and best described as late Rājput, with Mughal influences. Reproductions are given with Growse's translation, published at Allahābād in 1883, also by Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plates XLIX–LXXI. The India Office also possesses several pages of an illustrated *Rāmāyaṇa* of considerable interest.

[2] Twenty-fifth Yuddhakāṇḍam in the translation of M. N. Dutt.

The story runs that Rāma having crossed the ocean with all his army, was arrayed before Laŋkā. Rāvaṇa sent out his two counsellors, Śuka and Sāraṇa, disguised as monkeys, as spies to report on the monkey army. They beheld the monkey host in countless numbers, some already seated, some about to take their seat, an innumerable roaring host. Vibhīṣaṇa detected their disguise, and led them before Rāma. Despairing of their lives, they admitted that they had been sent by Rāvaṇa to report the numbers of the monkey host. Rāma laughed, and gave them leave to see all that they would, and to return unhurt.

Another spy episode is represented on Plate XXII, and this is inscribed behind with the long text reproduced on p. 79.[1] After receiving the report of Śuka and Sāraṇa, Rāvaṇa sent out more spies, Sārḍūla and another. They were again detected by Vibhīṣaṇa, and Sārḍūla was brought before Rāma. He was allowed to go free, and also the other, but not without being roughly handled by the monkeys. On returning to Rāvaṇa, Sārḍūla, still full of fear, communicated the result of his journey.

In both these pictures several of Vālmīki's descriptive passages are vividly realized; the monkeys, yellow or tawny, and some white with coppery faces, 'innumerable troops going to and fro, leaping and resting by turns . . . long-tailed, roaring like mighty clouds, irresistible as tigers . . . these are gazing upon Laŋkā, as if to lay her waste . . . and these whom thou seest there, like mighty banks of sable clouds, like dark collyrium, puissant, innumerable, dwellers in the mountains, in the country-side, and by the rivers, these dread bears are marching upon thee, O king. . . . Lo! one like to a mountain, Dhumrā's younger brother, a lord of the bears, like to his brother in beauty, greater in prowess. And this captain of leaders hight Jambavān; mild is he, obedient to his superiors, and fierce in fight.'[2]

The half-picture reproduced on Plate XXIII has no inscribed text, but illustrates the temptation of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa entering the Aśoka grove, came before Sītā and assured her that Rāma had been defeated and slain, and invited her to become his wife, 'the mistress of all my wives'. 'And bring hither,' he added, 'O Vidyajjibha, from the battlefield the head of Rāma.' This forms the subject of the next picture in the series, not reproduced, where the head and the bow—illusory forms created by magic—are shown to Sītā, who is made to believe in Rāma's death, and herself desires to die.

The remaining pictures and drawings in my collection, from this series, follow the course of the many battles of the siege of Laŋkā. One is reproduced on Plate XXIV, and illustrates the moment where Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa, himself remaining invisible by magic art, overpowered both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with showers of arrows. In vain the monkeys ranged the sky in search of the hidden archers. The bodies of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were wholly covered by the furious arrows of Indrajit, which changed into serpents, and streams of blood were pouring from their wounds; bound by the shafts, they knew no rest. There was not so much space upon their bodies unpierced as could be measured by a finger, they were wounded with arrows up to the tips of their fingers. Bristling with arrows, they fell like heroes. Breathing low, they lay upon the field in pools of blood, and the leaders of the monkeys—after the battle—sat around them with tear-charged eyes.[3]

The latter phase is represented in succeeding drawings, as also the arrival of Garuḍa, the friend of Rāma and *vāhana* of Vishnu, at whose presence the arrow-serpents slide away in terror, and the heroes are restored.

The Forest Exile. From Kāŋgrā I have seen only isolated pictures, of which by far the best is the forest scene of Plate XLII, B. A more romantic treatment is represented in Plate LX, where Lakṣmaṇa is extracting a thorn from Rāma's foot.

Rāma enthroned. An extremely familiar subject, met with in all localities, is that of Rāma and Sītā enthroned, attended by Lakṣmaṇa with a *chauri*, and by Hanuman, who kneels at Rāma's feet. An 18th–19th-century Jaipur work of this type is reproduced by Mr. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate LII.

[1] The last four and a half *ślokas* correspond to the opening of chapter xxx of the Yuddhakāṇḍam in the translation of M. N. Dutt.

[2] Chaps. xxxi, xxxii in the same.

[3] Chaps. xliv *seq.* of the Yuddhakāṇḍam, in the translation of M. N. Dutt.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The *Mahābhārata* turns upon the wars of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍavas, or Five Sons of Pāṇḍu, are respectively Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva; their blind uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra rules in Hastinapur, and has a hundred sons, the Kurus, of whom the chief is Duryodhana; but Yudhiṣṭhira is appointed heir-apparent. The five Pāṇḍavas are banished at the instance of Duryodhana. They become allied to Drupada, and marry his daughter Draupadī. They return to Hastinapur and receive a share of the kingdom. They found Delhi, and become prosperous; but the jealousy of the Kurus is as strong as ever. The story runs that the Five Pāṇḍavas were invited to a festival at the Kuru court, and while there, Yudhiṣṭhira was persuaded to gamble with Sakunī; the latter played unfairly, and won in succession Yudhiṣṭhira's wealth and kingdom, his brothers, himself and Draupadī. Draupadī was dragged before the court by the evil Duḥśāsana, with Duryodhana's approval. Duḥśāsana attempts to strip her naked. The Pāṇḍavas are beside themselves with rage, but helpless. But Draupadī, calling upon Krishna, was preserved by a miracle, for as garment after garment was unwound, another appeared beneath. Meanwhile a bitter argument was carried on, as the result of which it was at last admitted that Draupadī could not be staked by one who had already lost his own freedom. She stood free, and was given two boons by Dhṛtarāṣṭra; she chose the freedom of Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers. But it is agreed that all must go into exile for thirteen years. The prophecy is made that at the end of that time the Pāṇḍavas will utterly destroy the Kurus, and this was fulfilled in the eighteen days' battle which concludes the story of the Great War.

The Gambling Scene. In my experience, *Mahābhārata* illustrations are comparatively rare amongst the Rājput paintings, though I have no doubt that many examples exist.[1] In the present work I am only able to reproduce three, but these are of great importance. The 'Gambling Scene', both as the crisis of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava quarrel, and from an Indian standpoint the most tragic of events, and perhaps also because this is one of the points in which the cult of Krishna is specially emphasized—Draupadī herself being one of the Forty-two Beloved of the Lord (Hari-vallabhas)—has deeply impressed the Hindū imagination. I reproduce in Plates XXXVI, XXXVII, A two examples, both Early Kāŋgṛā, and perhaps by the same hand, and both of the first rank. The larger of these, in the collection of Mr. W. Rothenstein, bears the following inscription:

॥ कवित्त ॥ द्रौण दुसासन दुकूल गहे दीन वंधु   दीन ह्वैके द्रुपद दुलारी यों पुकारी है ॥
क्छोडे पुरसारथ ठाढे पिय पारथ सें   भीम महां भीम ग्रीव नीवै कै निहारी है ॥
अंवर जो अमर अवार कियो वंशीधर   भीखम करन द्रौण सभा हेरि हारी है ॥
सारी मध्य नारी है कि नारी मध्य सारी है   कि सारी है कि नारी है किसारि ह्रं की नारी है ॥ १ ॥
स. (वाया) ॥ में अवला अति दुष्ट दुसासन   खिंचत चीर सरीर करेरी ॥
भीषम द्रौण कर्ण कियो चित   भीम कसी सभै मुख हेरी ॥
ऊची भुजा चितवै द्रौंपति   राम गुनी यदोनाथ कुटेरी ॥
अंबर जात दिगंबर होत   तूं राख पितांवर तूं पत मेरी ॥ २ ॥
श्रीक्षण भगवान नें द्रौंपति दी सहायत कित्ती ॥ श्रीः ॥ २ ॥

'Drupada's daughter cries aloud in her distress, "O thou Protector of the weak, this vile Duḥśāsana has seized my dress,
While Pārtha (Arjuna) my love, forsaking might of manhood, does not stir, and Bhīma looks upon the ground with hanging head and full of fear."
(Then Krishna, saith the poet) Baṃsī Dhar, increased the cloth until it reached the sky, and Bhīṣma, Karṇa, Droṇa, and the whole assembly stared astonished, (asking)
"Whether is the woman in the cloth, or is the cloth in her, or is she made of clothing, or is it (nothing but) the woman's dress?"

[1] I have not thought it necessary to refer here to the well-known illustrated *Razmnāmah* (*Mahābhārata*) at Jaipur, (dated by Abul Fazl's Preface, A.D. 1588, and well known by Colonel Hendley's reproductions in *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, 1883, vol. iv), for this is an almost purely Mughal work. Some reproductions are given also by Vincent Smith, loc. cit., Plate LXV.

'" I am a woman all too weak, and base Duḥśāsana roughly drags the garment from my body";
Bhīṣma, Karṇa, Droṇa's hearts are hardened; all are gazing upon Bhīma;
With lifted arms is Draupadī seen, (and cries) "Why dost Thou tarry?"—(saith the poet) RāmaGunī—
"My dress is falling and I am wellnigh naked; save Thou my honour, O my Lord, the Wearer of the Yellow Cloth."

'And in that assembly did the Blessed One protect the honour of Draupadī.'[1]

The Death of Bhīṣma. At more than one point in the Eighteen Days' Fight of the *Mahābhārata* there is an interlude, where voices are heard above the battlefield, speaking both of earthly duty and of things beyond death; once in the dialogue of Krishna and Arjuna, known as the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and once in the Death of Bhīṣma. The former event has been often illustrated, but I know of no important example. The Death of Bhīṣma, however, is represented with adequate grandeur in the example reproduced on Plate XXXVII, B. It should be understood that Bhīṣma was the friend and preceptor alike of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas, but fought for the former. Bhīṣma fell on the tenth day, seeking death by his own wish. 'There was not in his body', says the book, 'a space of even two fingers' breadth not pierced by arrows.' When Bhīṣma fell, the hearts of all sank with him. Pierced all over with arrows, his body did not touch the ground, but he lay on a bed of arrows; there, 'having recourse to that Yoga which is taught in the great Upaniṣads, and occupied with prayer, he remained at peace, expectant of his hour.' He would not die while the sun remained in the southern solstice, but waited for its turning northward. A truce was called, and the kings of either party, putting off their armour, went to honour the dying knight; and amongst themselves they conversed in friendly fashion, as of old. Bhīṣma's head hung down, he asked for a pillow; and when he had refused soft cushions, Arjuna took three straight arrows and supported Bhīṣma's head on these. 'Thou hast given me, O Pāṇḍava,' said Bhīṣma, 'a pillow that becomes my bed; even so should a Kṣattriya sleep on the field of battle on his bed of arrows.' Bhīṣma prayed Duryodhana to be reconciled with Yudhiṣṭhira, and to restore his lands; but Duryodhana would yield nothing. So the kings took their leave and went to their tents, to join the battle again on the morrow, leaving Bhīṣma well protected, abiding the hour of his death, 'like the sun about to set', or 'a fire about to go out'.

[1] The last line is Pañjābī prose. It is remarkable that Draupadī does not here appeal to Krishna by the name of Dvārakānātha, as in the usual versions. The verses are by two poets, Baṃsī Dhar and Rāma Gunī. The former, in collaboration with a poet of the name of Dalapati Rāī (of whom I possess a good late Mughal portrait inscribed Munshi Dalpat Rāī of Farokhābād) produced a work entitled *Alaṃkāra Ratnākara* in Saṃvat 1791 (A.D. 1734). From this, if we assume the inscription to be contemporary, we may infer that the picture cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 18th century. The poet Rāma Gunī has not been identified.

The following *corrigenda*, for which I am indebted to Paṇḍit Shyām Bihārī Misra, are assumed in the translation: l. 1, दुर्जन for द्रौण; l. 2, खड़े हैं for ठाढे, भय for महां, नीचे कै for नीवै कै; l. 3, अम्बर लौं अम्बर अँबार किया; l. 4, ही for the third है, and ending कि नारीही कि सारी है; l. 6, before कर्ण read औ, and की ओर for कसी; l. 7, before राम गुनी read किय, and ending कि देरी for कुटेरी; l. 8, होती हीं for होत, omit तूं, and read पति for पत.

CHAPTER V

BALLAD AND ROMANCE

Hammīr Haṭh. It can hardly be doubted that the great Rājput epic known as *Pritvīrāj Rāsāu* has been illustrated at some period by Rājput painters; but I cannot refer to any extant examples. Nor have I ever seen any old illustration of the story of Padmāvatī of Chitor, the subject of the beautiful allegory of Malik Muḥammad. But another tale of Rājput chivalry, the history of Hammīr Deb of Ranthambhor has been often illustrated by Pahāṛī painters. Hammīr's dogged valour and heroic death at the hands of Alāu'd-dīn Khilji have given rise to innumerable proverbs, and have been celebrated in poetical works in many languages of India. The earliest and most popular of these are the *Hammīr Rāsa* and *Hammīr Kābya* of Sāraŋg Dhar. The story goes that one of Alāu'd-dīn's generals incurred the displeasure of his master, and took refuge with Hammīr Deb. Alāu'd-dīn consequently besieged the fortress of Hammīr Deb, and the siege lasted three years. When the last straits were reached, the refugee implored the king not to destroy his kingdom and lose his life for the sake of one stranger. Hammīr would not entertain such a thought for a moment, and it was arranged to make a last sally. The queen and all the women of the palace at the same time determined to take their own lives, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, or remain alive after the death of their husbands. The sally succeeded in putting to flight the remnants of Alāu'd-dīn's army; but Hammīr was killed by an arrow. 'Few there are', says the poet, 'who would thus abandon a magnificent palace, a young, beautiful and devoted queen, and endless treasure, to protect the life of a refugee.'

I have seen at Maṇḍi a considerable series of pictures illustrating this story; and my own collection includes an incomplete set of seventeen unfinished drawings, and one complete, and two from other sets. Of the former, no. 16 has the short legend . . . *Śrī Rājā Habīrde ājñā ledā* (His Majesty Hambīr Deb takes leave); this drawing shows the Rājā taking leave of the queen, before making the last sally. In subsequent drawings the fight is proceeding, while the women of the palace take their own lives, fulfilling the terrible rite of the *jauhar.*

The vitality of this tradition, and the reaction of poetry and painting, one upon the other, are illustrated in the following particulars of a later version. The Benares Nāgarī Pracharinī Sabhā has published two poems on Hammīr, of which one is the *Hammīr Haṭh* of Chandra Śekhar of Paṭyāla, who was born A.D. 1798, and died in 1875. The poem was composed in 1845. The poem is based on a series of pictures in the Paṭyāla library. The circumstances of the Rājā's commission are related in vers. 3–5 of the poem, as follows:

'Śrī Narendra Siṃha Rājā, always the ocean of kindness, considering my lack of means, bestowed his kindness on me, he the great and the good.

Calling me near, he laid on me his commands: "Here is a *Hammīr Haṭh*, do you compose the beautiful story in excellent verse."

By the Mahārājā's order, just as I found it painted in the pictures, so Śekhar has composed in Bhāṣā; my dear friends, find no fault with it.'

These pictures I have had no opportunity of seeing, but most likely they are still preserved at Paṭyāla; and it would be a pleasing task to publish the pictures, together with a translation of Chandra Śekhar's composition.

Nala-Damayantī. The old story of Nala and Damayantī has been retold in several vernaculars, and apparently illustrating some such version is the incomplete but very important series of forty-nine unfinished drawings in my collection; the last of these is numbered 112. A few from the same series are to be found in the Calcutta School of Art collection. These drawings, of which a typical example, the 'Svayamvara of Damayantī', is reproduced on Plate LXII, exhibit late Kāŋgṛā art at its

best. Considered as compositions, indeed, they often lack unity; but separate groups, such as are reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, II, Plates IX, X, are of unsurpassed charm and dignity. The manner of the whole work recalls the Botticelli drawings to Dante. Apart from their aesthetic qualities they afford a detailed picture of the daily life of a Rājput court of the Pañjāb Himālayas, such as is available nowhere else. The series seems to end without representing any later events than the young lovers' honeymoon, and for this reason I suppose it is not directly based on the old form of the tale, which is included in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa.

Sohnī-Mahīṅwāl. The Pañjābī folk-tale of Sohnī and Mahīṅwāl I have never seen illustrated by a series of consecutive pictures, but is a favourite subject of what in this case had best, perhaps, be

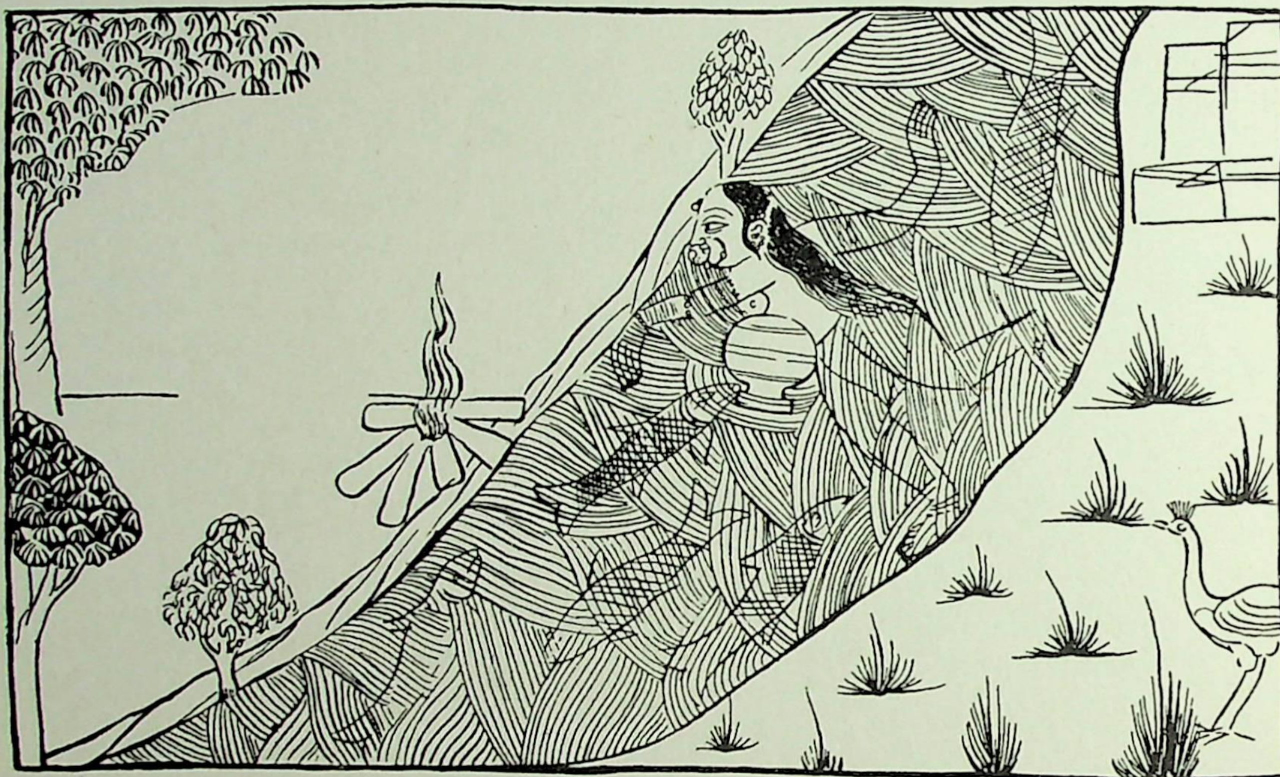


FIGURE 6. Sohnī-Mahīṅwāl. Traced from a Pañjābī drawing of the 18th century. Sohnī crossing the river to join her lover (whose figure is here omitted owing to awkward retouching in the original) beside the fire lit for her guidance. Reduced.

called Pañjābī artists.[1] The usual Sohnī-Mahīṅwāl pictures (including one in my collection bearing the inscription quoted in Fig. 1, no. 11), indicate a night scene; on one side a hermit by his hut, in the middle of the picture a river, across which Sohnī is swimming, supported by an earthen pot inverted, and on the other side a buffalo-herd, Mahīṅwāl, seated under a tree, and playing on his pipe. Most of these are interesting, but I have never found a really good example. The outline drawing here given in Fig. 6 is traced from a simpler version, where no buffaloes are indicated, and there is no hermit; the treatment is more archaic, and indeed exceedingly beautiful. The figure of Mahīṅwāl is omitted, as it had been interfered with in the original, and could not be faithfully traced. The crisis of the story, it should be mentioned, turns on the discovery of the girl's nightly visit to her lover; her brothers substitute for the baked earthen pot one of unbaked clay; and when this melts away in the water she sinks and drowns.

Padumāvatī. A late manuscript of Malik Muḥammad's poem, in the India Office Library, is lavishly illustrated.

Lailā-Majnūn. This subject is occasionally treated, in imitation of Persian or Mug͟hal originals.

Sassī-Punūn. I have seen one Pañjābī version.

[1] The reader must not allow the necessary use of the word Pahāṛī to obscure the fact that a large part of Rājput art could properly be described as Pañjābī. Under present political arrangements Jammu is a part of Kāshmīr, Kāŋgṛā is in the Pañjāb, and Gahrwāl belongs to the United Provinces.

CHAPTER VI

RĀGMĀLĀS

WHAT Indians regard as the essential basis of music is *rāga*. This term is sometimes translated as 'melody-mould'. A *rāga* is a selection of notes—in Northern India, from the scale of twenty-two—combined in certain characteristic progressions, and with certain notes more emphasized than others. *Rāgiṇīs* are modes of the *rāgas* in which certain notes are omitted and the progressions and emphasis differ. These *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* are the foundation of every art-song; to sing, is to improvise within the limits of the appropriate *rāga* or *rāgiṇī*. What is most important to observe is that each *rāga* and *rāgiṇī* has a definite sentiment or ἦθος: it is also definitely associated with a certain hour of the day, and sometimes with a particular season. It has been shown that there is a real musical basis for this association of *rāgas* with a particular hour and sentiment.[1] It may be remarked that the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* have originated in more than one way; the four sources generally recognized are (1) folk-song, (2) poetical works, (3) devotional songs of the *yogīs*, (4) the composition of professional musicians. These origins are often indicated in the *rāg* names, such as *Pahāṛī* (mountain), *Hiṇḍola* (a swing), *Jogī* (ascetic), and *Sāraŋg* (from Sāraŋgdeva, a musician of the 13th century). Other names refer to the sentiment of the *rāga* or *rāgiṇī*, or to their effects or appropriate hours, as *Vasanta* (spring), and *Dīpaka* (lamp). Thus it is that each *rāga* and *rāgiṇī* has more or less definite associations.

The *rāgas* are personified, like the *devatā* of a *mantram*; so that to mis-sing a *rāga* or *rāgiṇī* is to break the limbs of a god or goddess. The *rāgiṇīs* are the wives of the *rāgas*. According to the system of Hanuman in most general use, there are six fundamental *rāgas*, and each has five *rāgiṇīs*. But the number of systems is considerable; in some, beside the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, there are also hybrids, called *putras* or sons. All these are described in the technical works on music, of which the earliest extant is the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata (5th century). The early works are all in Sanskrit; whether these were ever illustrated, as is very likely, we do not know. But from the second half of the 16th century, or even earlier, onwards, it became the fashion to compose *Rāgmālas*, or sets of verses describing the *rāgas* or *rāgiṇīs*, in Hindī, and these works are constantly illustrated. Many of the illustrated *Rāgmālās* are full of confusion, but the early examples are more authentic, and it would probably be easy to compile a 'correct' edition of the more important and most frequent types.

These illustrations have been made the subject of unnecessary mystery. They are simply intended to express pictorially the ἦθος of the *rāga* or *rāgiṇī* represented. The picture does not necessarily represent the *rāga* or *rāgiṇī* as a visible *devatā*; it represents the circumstances appropriate to his or her invisible presence. 'Our songs', says Rabīndranāth Tagore, 'speak of the early dawn and the embroidered starry midnight sky of India; our song is the world-sundered separation pain of dripping rain, and the wordless ecstasy of the deep madness of the early Spring, as it reaches the utmost limits of the forests.'[2] It is in this way that the associations of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* afford ample material for illustration. The pictures are, as it were, a commentary on the modes, a sort of musical analysis or criticism interpreting the modes to those whose language is more visual than musical. It is true that in Europe we are nowadays accustomed to such interpretations only in words, and more recently also in dancing; but there is no reason why they should not be as well or better given in pictorial paraphrase.[3] It should be noted that most of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*

[1] A. H. Fox-Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan*, 1914, p. 154.

[2] *Jībansmṛti*, p. 175.

[3] That there is nothing unique in the paraphrasing of

have for their burden some phase of love, either in union or separation; in such cases, as in the pictures of *nāyakās*, the lovers represented are always Rādhā and Krishna, and the art is essentially religious. The same names constantly recur in the words of the same songs. Thus each song of the *Gītā Govinda* is sung to a particular *rāgiṇī*, and a picture of the same circumstances could be a picture of the *rāgiṇī*. Nor is there here any mystery; since art is essentially expression, it follows that one and the same passion may be expressed in every art.

The representation of certain of the best known *rāgas* is fairly constant. The following are easily recognizable: *Bhairava* is the form of Śiva so called; *Bhairavī* is a *Śiva pūja*. *Khambāvatī* is a *Brahmā pūja* (Plate VI).[1] *Hiṇḍola*, as indicated in the name, is a swinging scene, the swingers are usually Rādhā and Krishna. *Ṭoṛī* is a woman playing the *vīṇā*, and deer are attracted by the music (Plate XII, B). *Deśākhya* is an acrobatic scene. *Dhanāśrī* is a girl drawing the portrait of a man, which she shows to the heroine, who recognizes her beloved; as in the story of Aniruddha and Uṣā, where Citrarekhā paints a picture of the former (*Prema Sāgara*, ch. lxiii). *Vasanta* is a dance, or the representation of the Holi festivities (Plate III, B). *Megha-mallāra* is a dance of Krishna in heavy rain (not unlike Plate XVIII, A). *Gujarī* is a woman playing music to a peacock. *Bibhāsa* is a love scene, the man shooting a flower arrow from the bow of Love.

Many of the others are less constant; in this respect, practically the same could be said of the pictures as of the *rāgiṇīs* themselves. A majority are love scenes or Orphic motifs; several of the types shade off into one another, just as the absolute distinctness of the actual *rāga* may be blurred by the introduction of even a single foreign note. On the whole the most reliable sources for identification available to me have been the British Museum MS. Or. 2821, and my own collection of twenty-three; these are in fair agreement, but not without discrepancies.

The following is a typical list of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*; the six *rāgas* are those universally regarded as fundamental (though sometimes known under other names), while the names of the *rāgiṇīs* are somewhat more variable:

Bhairava Rāga: with the *Rāgiṇīs Bhairavī*, *Naṭa*, *Mālavī*, *Paṭamañjarī*, and *Lalita*.
Mālakauśa Rāga: with the *Rāgiṇīs Gauṛī*, *Khambhāvatī*, *Mālaśrī*, *Rāmakalī*, and *Guṇakalī*.
Hiṇḍola Rāga: with the *Rāgiṇīs Vilāval*, *Ṭoṛī*, *Deśākhyā*, *Devagandhārī*, and *Madhu-mādhavī*.
Dīpaka Rāga: with the *Rāgiṇīs Dhanāśrī*, *Vasanta*, *Kānhṛā*, *Varāṛī*, and *Pūrvī*.
Megha-mallāra Rāga: with the *Rāgiṇīs Baṅgālī*, *Gujjarī*, *Gauṛa-mallāra*, *Kakhubhā*, and *Bibhāsa*.
Śrī Rāga: with the *Rāgiṇīs Pañcam*, *Āsāvarī*, *Seta-mallāra*, *Kedārā*, and *Kāmodinī*.

This system is followed in the important British Museum MS. Or. 2821; this is 17th century Rājasthānī, resembling my Plates V and VI. British Museum MS. Add. 26,550, has an almost identical arrangement, but different text, apparently by a poet of the name of Abhirāma.

Two examples in the style of MS. Or. 2821 are reproduced here; there is another of the same series in the British Museum, and I have a fourth. The inscriptions have been painted over with clouds, but this alteration has been almost contemporaneous with the original painting. All these are especially remarkable for their rendering of architecture, which is of the characteristic Rājput type, and the basis of 17th century Mughal. Nowhere else is the architecture represented with so much sympathy and understanding; and this special interest compensates for a certain lack of vitality in the figures. The same types of composition and architectural detail are found

pictures into music and *vice versa* appears in the facts that (1) this method is employed by the North American Indians to communicate their tunes, (2) Beethoven is said to have worked to a 'picture in his mind', and (3) Moussorgsky, Rakhmaninov, and Liszt all composed works inspired by particular pictures ('Athenaeum', Feb. 6 and Sept. 4, 1915). Observe also the use of one and the same terminology in the criticism of European music and painting, as in the case of 'Nocturne'. Millet's 'Angelus', like the Chinese 'Temple Bell', shows correspondence between visual and aural images. As regards the colour symbolism, it may be noted that each of the 'nine Rasas' or emotions—Love, the Heroic, the Disgusting, &c.—has its proper colour, a notion that also reappears in Chinese mythology, and even in Europe where we speak of black wrath, of seeing red, and of green-eyed jealousy. Needless to say, the pictorial illustration of music adds nothing to its meaning, but it may sometimes help to make the meaning clearer to the mind that is not typically musical.

[1] The constant recurrence of this subject in the *Rāgmālās* forms one of several indications of the considerable antiquity of such representations.

in the Rāgmālā already often referred to, British Museum MS. Or. 2821. Of the two reproduced here, the snake-charming scene (Plate v) represents *Rāgiṇī Āsāvarī*. This is like no. 35 of the British Museum volume.

The second example (Plate vi), representing a *Brahmā pūja*, is *Khambāvatī Rāgiṇī*, like no. 19 (which should be no. 9) of British Museum MS. Or. 2821, and others in many collections.

An earlier and finer work in the same style is the *Gauṛakarī Rāgiṇī* of Plate iv, like no. 27 of the British Museum volume.

Even more important than any of the above-mentioned series is an imperfect set of twenty-three *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* from which examples are given in Plates i–iii. These were obtained in Delhi, and are Rājasthānī of the 16th century. The name of the master *rāga* is inscribed on the front of each, and on the back is written in a later hand a descriptive Hindī verse.

These *dohās* correspond in most cases with those of British Museum MS. Or. 2821, but the latter gives for each *rāga* ten lines of *caupāī* in addition to the *dohā*. Thus the text for *Vasanta Rāgiṇī* in British Museum MS. Or. 2821 reads

चौपाई ॥ सरस वसंत सषी सुषदाई रिति वसंत षेलण बन आई ॥
पुरिष भेष धरि कां मिणि गावहि सषी संग सव सज बनावहि ॥
वर्ण अनुप फुलि अमराई गुंजही भंवर बास गहेराई ॥
मंद सुगंध पवन पाणि सुषकारी पिय समीप सुष विलसहि नारी ॥
गावहि सषी कोकला वाणी चतुर सवद संगित वषाणी ॥
दोहा ॥ गावत नाचत रस मग्न फिरत सघन बनकुंज ॥
पिय दीपक मन बसि करी तेही वसंत सुषपुंज ॥२१॥

of which the *dohā* only is inscribed on the back of the original of our Plate iii, b.

Translation:

'The pleasant *Vasanta* is a giver of bliss, my friend,
She enacts the plays of the season of Spring,
Putting on the shape of Puruṣa,[1] what is the song she sings?
And with all her companions has made herself fair.
Unparalleled colour, mangos in flower,
Settled upon them are the swarms of deep-murmuring bees,
Soft are the scented zephyrs, and the waters very pleasant,
Women disport in delight beside their lovers.

Her comrades sing with the *kokil's* voice
To the excellent noise of the tune of the music.
Singing and dancing, absorbed in pleasure, roaming through groves and forests deep,
Keeping her beloved *Dīpak* in her heart, a great heap of bliss is in that *Vasanta*.'

The following *dohā* is inscribed on the Madhu-mādhavī picture reproduced on Plate i.

Obverse: हिण्डोल, 5. Reverse: मधमाधवी रागिनी हिण्डोल की:
नृपति साहि हिण्डोल पै चली चीया अभिसार
नहि साउर दृग देखि दृग भौ चित बिगरार ॥

'Madha-mādhavī ("Honey-sweet") Rāgiṇī, of Hiṇḍola:
A woman fares on *abhisāra* to her lord and king Hiṇḍola:
The eye sees less than all, and eye is at variance with thought (so dark it is).

In other words, the sentiment of this *rāgiṇī* is that of the *Abhisārikā nāyakā*. British Museum MS. Or. 2821 has a different picture and text for Madha-mādhavī. The two other *rāgiṇīs* reproduced from this series are *Mālkaus* (Plate iii, a) and *Gauṛa(-mallāra)* (Plate ii).

[1] *Puruṣa*, the 'Eternal Male', represented as Krishna. I have another very similar version of Vasanta Rāgiṇī in the style of the above. The British Museum MS. (Or. 2821) example shows Krishna with milkmaids enjoying the Holi festival, throwing coloured powders, &c. The cult of Krishna is closely associated with the spring festivals.

There remain to be noticed a series of *rāga* pictures of the Ḍogrī Pahāṛī or Jammu group. These very provincial drawings are far from rare, though I do not know any in Europe outside my own collection and Mr. W. Rothenstein's. The *Rāgmālā* usually illustrated is evidently one of the more elaborate types, for it includes *rāgas*, *rāgiṇīs* (*bhārajās*), and *putras*. The versions differ considerably from those already noticed. As examples, it may be mentioned that *Gujarī Rāgiṇī*, wife of *Dīpaka*, is a single girl with a *vīṇā* in a grove (another version has a second girl and two deer); *Rāmakalī Rāgiṇī*, wife of *Śrī Rāga*, is a girl holding out cups of milk to a number of cobras emerging from two sandal trees; *Rāga Bhamarānanda*, son of *Mālakaus* is a *yogī* dancing violently to the drumming of a girl with a tambourine (the only representation of a tambourine I have seen in any Indian painting). *Ahīrī Rāgiṇī*, wife of *Hiṇḍola*, shows girls before a house, offering milk to cobras emerging from earthen pots. *Devagī* (*Devagandhārī*) *Rāgiṇī*, wife of *Hiṇḍola*, is a Śiva pūja.

It should be noticed that amongst the numerous Mug͟hal paintings of Hindū subjects there are many founded on the pictures of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, treated from a more romantic and less symbolic standpoint. A partly Mug͟hal version of *Kakubhā Rāgiṇī* is reproduced on Plate XVII, B. *Bhairavī Rāgiṇī*, converted into a romantic *Śiva pūja* night scene, is also a favourite subject.[1]

[1] E.g. *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, Plate I, which was then erroneously described as 'Rājput' on account of its subject. Pictures of this sort should be classified as Mug͟hal, notwithstanding they are derived from Rājput prototypes.

CHAPTER VII

SEASONS, ANIMALS, LANDSCAPE

Among the themes of Rājput painting we must not omit to mention the Seasons, as described in the *Bāramāsa* poems of the Hindī singers. An example of such a series of paintings, illustrating poems by Keśava Dāsa, forms a part of the British Museum MS. Add. 26550; but as these works, 'apparently of the 19th century', have little merit, and I have not met with any others, no example of a *Bāramāsa* (Twelve-Months) or *Khaṭ-ritu* (Six-Seasons) painting could be given here. But the general character of such art is indicated in the pictures reproduced in Plates xvii, a, and lviii; and a work more properly of this type but with some Mughal elements, is reproduced in colours in Mr. Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate lxviii.

We do not find in Rājput art any of those beautiful portraits of individual animals which are a feature of 17th century Mughal[1]; and even of less individual studies I can hardly recall a single example except the late Rājasthānī drawings of a Rhinoceros and Elephants reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plate xxii. We do find a few examples of animal combats, but many of these are derivative from Persian or Chinese prototypes; some brilliant late examples are to be found in certain 19th century Jammu (?) drawings of conflicts of panther and boar.[2]

The conflict of elephant and crocodile has already been referred to (Plate xxi and p. 39); and this subject very well illustrates how in Rājput paintings, as generally in Hindu art, animals are made the symbols of general ideas; while, on the other hand, in Mughal paintings they are represented with greater curiosity and without *arrière-pensée*.[3] The Hindus, like the Japanese,[4] were constantly attracted to the representation of certain aspects of nature; not from any romantic point of view, but because by association or by some virtue of their own such other forms of life served to evoke a vivid mental image.[5] And thus, when the key is given, we can recognize in many themes which might at first glance seem to be trivial or merely *genre*, an unexpected content of introspective thought. A Pahāṛī picture of a girl with a fawn is reproduced on Plate lxxi, a (also xlviii, a), amongst many examples of the same subject, of which the verse inscribed gives the clue:

दोहा ॥ को छूटयो इहि जाल परकीत कुरंग अकुलाए ।
जींही तुं सुरझ भज्यो चहे त्यों उरझत जाए ॥ १ ॥

'Who has escaped the net of nature, O bewildered deer?
The more you would warily run, the more are you tangled therein!'

The pet deer, though it has escaped the dangers of the chase and the pitfall, is yet attached to the beautiful maiden, and is likened to the soul entangled in *māyā*. This thought recalls the Vedānta use of the terms *mṛga-jala* and *mṛga-tṛṣṇa*, 'deer-water' and 'deer-thirst', that is to say mirage, or illusion. In the Psalm of the Buddhist Raṭṭhapāla, too, the individual who seeks not the pleasures of this world but the Abyss (*nibbāna*), is likened to the deer for whom the trapper

[1] E. g. *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plate xxiv.

[2] My collection, vol. viii, f. 29.

[3] Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plates lxi, lxii. Of certain animals brought from Goa, Jahāngīr wrote, 'Among them were a few animals which excited my curiosity and which I had never seen before . . . as the animals now before me were of such exquisite rarity I wrote a description of them and ordered that their pictures should be drawn in the *Jahāngīri-nāma* with a view that their actual likenesses might afford a greater surprise to the reader than a mere description of them' (Elliott, *History of India*, vi. 331).

[4] Sei-ichi Taki, *Three Essays on Oriental Painting*, 1910, p. 14, 'The Japanese adore natural objects not so much on account of their external beauties as for their efficacy in suggesting mental reflections.'

[5] Thus in early Indian literature we find similes of the great man as undefiled like the lotus, unshakeable as a mountain, patient as the earth.

lays his net in vain.[1] In the same way in various pictures of women watching wild or tame birds there is an unmistakable preoccupation with the thought of Transience, as if it could not be forgotten that

Nought here abides, here standës no thing stabill,
For this false world aye flittës to and fro.

Thus the following inscription was seen on a picture of a lady at play with a partridge (*cakora*) on a marble terrace:

दोहा ॥ इतते उत उतते इते छिन नकऊं ठेहेरात ।
काल न परत चकरी भइ फिर आवत फिर जात ॥
(परत for पड़त)

'Hither thence, and thither hence, not a moment stopping,
Never resting, like a *cakarī*, turns and comes and turns and goes.'[2]

Cakarī is a wheel-top that runs up and down a string (cf. Plate XLI and description on p. 53).

The thought that naught abides is also, I think, reflected in 'Watching the Wild Cranes', of which I have several versions, one by Mola Rām inscribed:[3]

दोहा ॥ चडत अटा देखत घटा यीदुं छटा सी नार ।
मुक्तमाल मुख मै लीयो रहो रहो फरत मराल ॥१॥

'Ascending the balcony, regarding the clouds, the flashing and moon-like woman
Holding before her face the necklace of pearls, "Stay, O stay", she prays the cranes!'

The picture shows a girl looking up from a high balcony at the passing cranes, silhouetted against the black clouds, and she holds up her pearl necklace, as if to bribe the birds to linger.

The flight of birds has appeared to Indians from very early times, a strange and beautiful phenomenon. Thus they are likened to men who have attained their freedom: 'Men who have seen Nibbāna', says the *Dhammapada* (92), 'their path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.' The same metaphor occurs also in *Mahābhārata*, xii, 6763. One of the Buddhist hermits sings:[4]

Whene'er I see the crane, her clear bright wings
Outstretched in fear to flee the black storm-cloud,
A shelter seeking, to safe shelter borne
Then doth the river Ajakaraṇī
Give joy to me.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the important part that is played by the cows that are constantly represented in the Krishna paintings. These sacred cows for their part share to the full the milkmaids' rapturous adoration of Krishna. 'Shall not the cows be loved as mothers—the cows whose milk was greedily sucked by the divine child of Devakī, as it flowed from their udders at the sight of Him, in even greater tenderness than for their own young?'[5] Hinduism is sometimes called the worship of cows and Brāhmans; and not without truth. 'He', says Manu, 'who giveth up his body and his life, in defence from danger, of the Brāhman, and the cow and the woman and the child, he, though he be a Śūdra, shall attain forthwith to the perfection of soul that even Brāhmans attain only by long practice of *yoga*.'[6]

With kindred sympathy is represented Nandi, the old bull which is the vehicle of Śiva, or who

[1] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 313.

[2] Cf. the poem of Buson:
The movement of the world of men,
Is ceaseless as the wagtail's tail.
Chamberlain, *Japanese Poetry*, p. 239.

[3] My collection, vol. v, f. 20.

[4] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 186. But it must not be supposed that in every picture where white birds are seen in flight, outlined against the black clouds, a special significance attaches to the birds; for this motif is often merely incidental. In the drawing referred to on p. 49 for example, though birds are represented, it is the clouds, and not the birds which give the key to the subject. In Plate VIII the treatment is decorative.

[5] *Vishnu Bhāgavata*, x (i), vi. 38.

[6] *Manu*, x. 62.

bears the load of wood for his *yogi's* fire; his fellow may be seen every day in the narrow streets of any Indian city, wandering up and down like a family pet, and perfectly at home. Buffaloes are introduced in pictures of the Sohnī-Mahīṅvāl legend; and from quite another standpoint the great buffalo form of Mahiṣāsura stands for the powers of evil in the typical representations of Durgā-Mahiṣamardinī (Plate LXVIII). She rides herself upon a tiger, and she fights for the Devas against the Asuras in their battles.

The sensibility of serpents, deer, and peacocks to the strains of music is proverbial, and forms the theme of many of the *rāgiṇī* pictures. Monkeys, of course, are represented with special sympathy in all the *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings, as animal in their impetuosity and human in their love. Hanuman is counted amongst the 'Forty-two Beloved of the Lord'.

It will be seen that in almost all these cases the representation of animals is not from motifs of curiosity, but as embodying certain general ideas. Thus, the standpoint, though very sympathetic, is also apparently anthropocentric; and this affords a parallel to the treatment of animals in Indian folklore, where they are always made to think and act like human beings.[1]



FIGURE 7. Hanuman fighting the *rakṣasas* of Laṅkā; from a Jammu drawing of the 17th century.

Rājput art in these respects seems to be nearer to European (especially Early Italian and Gothic) than to Chinese art, where landscape is regarded as the highest theme, and the constant aim is to lead out man's thought from self into the universal life around him. But the Indian anthropocentric attitude is not really like the European, for the European consciousness has never been able to realize intuitively the unity of all life, and is hampered by the old Semitic animism that discovers in man a soul that does not exist in animals and trees. European art assumes for the human personality a distinction not merely of degree, but of kind, and so divides the consciousness of Man from that of Nature. The Indian artistic tradition is that of a race that finds the undivided Self in every living thing, and even in what some would call the inanimate, and so it easily recognizes and sometimes even exaggerates the essential likeness of animals and men.[2]

We have said that in Indian literature the animals are made to act and think like human beings, and the same tendency appears in the sculptures and paintings, such as the *yogi* cat at Māmallapuram,[3] or the talking geese of the *Haṃsa Jātaka* at Ajaṇṭā. But where European art only accomplishes

[1] It has been pointed out by Benfey (*Einleitung zur Panschatantra*) that in this respect the Indian fables differ from the Æsopic stories. In the Indian stories animals behave as men in animal forms; in the Æsopic stories they behave as animals according to their own nature.

[2] Cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 198.

[3] *Viśvakarmā*, Plate LXXXV.

a similar reading of human attributes in the life of non-human creatures as a sentimental *tour de force*—sentimental because all the time an essential difference of constitution is assumed—Indian art is inspired with the deep conviction that human and animal life differ only in degree, and that all must travel on the same road towards the same goal of ultimate knowledge of the Brahman. Animate and inanimate must alike be sensitive to the accomplishment of spiritual purposes. It is thus with deep sincerity, rather than conscious humour, that Indian animals are made to play the part of men, and often to surpass their human fellows in nobility and faith.

There is, indeed, another way of representing Nature, where the whole significance of wild life and mountain scenery is found precisely in what they really are in themselves, apparently independent of edification and symbolism. This supreme and universal art is illustrated in such works as the Indian Monkey Family of Māmallapuram,[1] and those of the great Chinese painters of mountains. But here, too, a more penetrating study reveals philosophic conceptions underlying the interpretation of Nature—and were it otherwise we should be dealing rather with illustration than art. The philosophic study of Nature has only been made possible for Europe by the development of modern science;[2] here also, though in another way, the mind has learnt to escape from the circle of its own thought, to realize the impartiality of Nature, and to overcome the naïve belief that it is for man alone that the earth yields her fruits, and for his service that the animals were specially created. For these reasons, European animal and landscape art, in any case a late development, has never achieved results that are comparable with the Nature-art of the Far East, especially the art inspired by Taoist and Zen Buddhist thought. Even Indian art, though it excels in the representation of animals, has never created a school of landscape painting comparable with that of China.

In Indian representations of animals, however, the practical considerations most often predominate; such and such an animal is a protector from demons, or the vehicle of such and such a god. To these considerations Rājput painting offers no exception. The birds and deer are symbols of general ideas, and landscape is always background for the human or divine actors.

In Indian poetry we find much mention made of flowers, seasons, murmuring bees, the beauty of the silver moonlight, and the savour of the southern zephyrs. But in general, this is not from the standpoint of disinterested contemplation, but arises from the influence which Nature exercises upon human sentiment. When, in the Nala-Damayantī drawings,[3] we see the lovers seated hand in hand rapturously watching the rising moon, the painter is more concerned to represent their common happiness, than to put before us an interpretation of Nature, otherwise than as the nature of the hearts of men. When the poet speaks of flowers, it is to find a wealth of similes for the perfections of his heroine. When Krishna praises the forest trees, it is for the shelter they afford to other creatures, and their patient suffering of the sun and rain: 'Lo! these are come into the world, and how much they have taken upon themselves, and what happiness they bestow on men!' When Rādhā weeps at Krishna's loss, as she stands in the woods all alone, 'Hearing the sound of her crying, all beasts, all birds and trees and climbing plants were weeping too.'

The elephant is a symbol of grace, the wagtail of a rolling eye; the dark clouds and the *tamāla* trees are like the body of Krishna; the peacock rejoices in the rain, the 'peewit' cries, 'My love, my love'. The lotus is now a lover's toy, now the image of a woman's hands or the feet of a divinity; and again the secret flower in the heart of man; or beneath the feet of any *deva*, or as a spiritual throne, it marks an other-worldly origin and immaterial purity.

Thus in Rājput art it is not through landscape or through animal painting that the highest universality is reached. There is no such philosophic interpretation of Nature, as we recognize in Chinese representations of mist and mountain, dragon and tiger. The universalism of Vaiṣṇava art is attained in another way; its philosophic language is that of human love; its pairs of opposites—Mist and Mountain, Yin and Yang, Being and Becoming, Rest and Energy, Spirit and Matter—are typified by Man and Woman. All the interplay of their relationships is the history of the courtship of soul and body, and involves the ultimate recognition of their unity. In this convention of its own, so different from and

[1] *Viśvakarmā*, Plate LXXXIII.

[2] E.g. Aliotta, *The Idealistic Reaction against Science*, London, 1914, p. 460.

[3] *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plate x, 4.

complementary to that of Chinese Art, the Vaiṣṇava art of Hindustān is none the less the Indian equivalent of Ch'an or Zen Buddhistic culture of the Far East. Each in its own way achieves the union of Nirvāṇa and Saṃsāra, renunciation and pleasure, religion with the world, Man with Nature.

The representation of Nature, on the other hand, is never from a romantic point of view. It is not for picturesque effect, but because He is the Great God of the mountains, and Pārvatī is the daughter of Himālaya, that these twain are represented as dwellers in the Himālayan forests, and that snow-clad peaks rise up about them; not for the sake of effect that the lightning flashes in the inky sky, and the rain pours down in torrents, but because the representation of the darkness and the storm emphasize the self-forgetful courage of the *Abhisārikā*; it is not as scenery that Mt. Govardhan is represented, but because the image of Śrī Nātha-jī was discovered there; it is not a sentimental intention that represents the deer as listening to the music of the *vīṇā*, but because for these believers music had actual power to charm the shyest of the shy, and to change the face of the outer world. Nothing points the distinction of Rājput from Mug͟hal painting more clearly than the fact that when the Rājput subjects are imitated or repeated by the Mug͟hal artists, picturesque elements are immediately developed, and the meaning is forgotten; the religious art is secularized.

It is none the less true that the landscape elements in Rājput art exhibit great variety, and might well afford materials for a separate study. On the whole there is a movement from an early formal and decorative treatment to the more naturalistic art of Kāŋgṛā. But comparing Plates II and IV we see that even in the 16th century there existed side by side very different degrees of convention; while, on the other hand, some of the oldest formulae have survived in full vigour almost to the present day.

That the Rājput landscapes are essentially Indian, not like the typical Persian mountains that are derived from Chinese prototypes, no one can fail to recognize who knows the sandy plains of Rājputāna and the Pañjāb, the little hills and swift rivers of the sub-Himālayan valleys, and the snowy peaks of the inner ranges. So with the trees and flowers: mango, plantain, palm, and lotus are all Indian, and so are the dark *tamāla* trees and flowery creepers of the groves of Brindāban. Only the cypress and the 'weeping willow' may be Persian borrowings. The *deodar* is only very rarely represented, for Rājput art belongs to the plains and the outer valleys, not to the inner hills.

What is the source of the Indian sympathy with infra-human lives? It is to be found in the ideals and in the culture of the Forest-dwellers. Rājput art does not differ from other expressions of Indian sentiment in laying much stress on the Vanāśrama, the life in forest hermitages. These asylums were the abode of peace and learning, where reside the sages 'crowned with asceticism, and resembling smokeless flames'; there the wild deer go to and fro at will, and fiercer creatures are as gentle as the deer themselves. There man lives in perfect harmony with nature; and from that source is derived the essential inspiration of Indian culture and the illumination of everyday life. The affection with which every Indian looks upon the ideal life of the forest hermitages, as it is represented in the Āraṇyakāṇḍam of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in *Śakuntalā*, is reflected equally in pictures such as are here reproduced on Plate LXI, representing the forest home of Kusi and Lava, and Plate LX: in the words of Rabīndranāth Tagore, 'The hermitage stands forth as the place that has done away with man's aloofness from plants and creepers, birds and beasts. . . . The Hindu sages did not shut themselves up in brick and iron cages of their own making; where they dwelt the vast universal life had unfettered communion with their life. . . . Thus it was that they could realize their own life by connecting it with the vaster life all around them. To them their environment was not dead, vacuous, or detached.'[1]

[1] *The Springhead of Indian Civilization*, translated by Jadunath Sarkar, 'Modern Review', December, 1912.

CHAPTER VIII

PORTRAITURE

PORTRAITURE is the typical mode of Mughal painting. Its predominance there and comparative subordination in Rājput art, exactly reflect the characteristic bias of the Mughal and the Hindū culture—the one deeply interested in individual character and in passing events, the other in ideal types and symbols. Even human figures—such as those of the milkmaids of Brindāban—stand essentially as symbols of general ideas. It is just this difference which makes the Mughal art so relatively easy of comprehension to modern students and the religious art more difficult. The Mughal art at its best very adequately exhibits the dignity of man. But in the main it simply reacts to an objective magnificence, and represents the splendid pageantry of royal luxury and sartorial refinement; it is distinguished because its material is distinguished. Rājput art is inspired by a supernatural generosity which transfigures common and everyday experiences and homely events. These broad generalizations are subject to certain exceptions, and in a large collection of Rājput paintings we meet with more and more interesting portraits than might have been expected. If many of these are plainly influenced by Mughal fashions, they have none the less a well-marked character of their own; never so prudent or so meticulous as the common run of Mughal work, they are simpler and more monumental in design; but they never, or hardly ever, attain the marvellous refinement of the true Mughal delineation—perhaps the highest level that miniature portraiture has ever reached—nor its penetrating insight into the character of the individual represented.

Some characteristic Rājput portraits from Jaipur are reproduced in my *Indian Drawings*, ii, Plates XVIII, XIX, and XX (1, 3). In the present work these are supplemented only by a small series of Ḍogrā works from the Jammu district (Plates XXXIII–XXXV), and a late Kāŋgṛā group of goldsmiths (Plate LXXV, A). These examples, together with the sensitively drawn Boy-warrior of *Indian Drawings*, i, Plate XIII, may be taken as typical for the Pahāṛī types. A good example of the Sikh assemblies is reproduced on Plate LXXVI.[1]

[1] The following reference to Sikh portraiture is of interest: 'Von Orlich in 1842 was present at a durbar of Shīr Singh's, at Lahore, and takes notice of the presence of native artists whose employment then, as it had been from the time of the first Mogul emperor, was to take portraits of the different personages composing the court. "On occasions of this kind," writes Von Orlich, "it is customary for the Indian nobles to bring the artist attached to the court to take portraits of those present. The painter of Shere Singh was, therefore, incessantly occupied in sketching with a black lead pencil those likenesses which were afterwards to be copied in water colours, in order that they might adorn the walls of the royal palace; and some of them were admirably executed. I was among the honoured few, and the artist was very particular in making a faithful representation of my uniform and hat and feathers."'—Quoted by H. H. Cole, *Catalogue of the Objects of Indian Art . . . South Kensington Museum*, London, 1874, p. 64. Observe here the general dependence of Sikh portraiture on Mughal tradition, the introduction of the lead pencil, and the interesting fact that the portraits were designed for palace walls.

PART III. ALLIED ARTS AND THE PRESENT DAY

CHAPTER I

ALLIED ARTS

Poetry, music, and dancing have already been alluded to as inseparably associated with Rājput paintings. It will be desirable to refer here also to certain minor arts more closely allied to painting, and more amenable to illustration. One of these arts is the cutting of paper stencils, as practised in Mathurā, Delhi, and Jaipur, and probably in many other cities of Hindustān. The stencils are used in the preparation of temporary pictures upon any smooth horizontal surface, by means of coloured powders, just as a design is transferred by pouncing through a pricked cartoon.

If the design is to appear in more than one colour, a like number of stencils must be prepared, and accurately registered by means of side notches.

The subject-matter is generally Vaiṣṇava, but any Hindū theme may be dealt with; one finds also many frames and elaborate patterns, and realistic animals, buildings, flowers, and trees. These stencils are often very brilliant in design and execution, a fact the more surprising when it is realized that most of the available examples are of late 19th century workmanship. Their character is so clearly indicated in the accompanying reproductions (Figs. 10, 11) as to need no further comment. In many respects they represent a later stage of Kāŋgṛā realism.

Closely allied in effect to the stencils just referred to are certain lithographed illustrations (Figs. 8, 9), resembling woodcuts, found in the Hindī printed chap-books. Very often these follow closely old Rājput designs, as in the case of the Krishna subject here reproduced from a pamphlet printed in 1864.

It must be confessed that in many cases these lithograph illustrations are of little merit, and they are not to be compared with the brilliant drawings of a century earlier, such as the example reproduced in Fig. 3. Nevertheless, they show considerable appreciation of the principles of book-illustration, and have a good decorative effect in place on the pages. In exceptional cases, such as the accompanying 'Well of Love', these illustrations become truly beautiful, and are comparable with good Italian woodcuts of the 15th century. It can hardly be doubted that if printing had been introduced into India before the decadence of Rājput art, and had the early Rājput draughtsmen known how to cut their drawings on wood (as might easily have been the case by a slight adaptation of the widely practised art of industrial block-cutting for cotton-printing and embroidery), books of the highest aesthetic value might have been produced. We must look upon this possibility as an opportunity that was just missed.

The mere writing or printing of the Nāgarī character, however, if at all skilfully accomplished, by itself produces a page of great nobility. The example given here (Fig. 12) is of average merit, neither very poor nor especially good. It is important to bear in mind that Nāgarī and other Hindū scripts are never treated from the standpoint of calligraphy, nor is there any intimate connexion between writing and draughtsmanship, such as exists in China and Persia. Fresco painting was already well developed before the writing down of sacred texts became at all general.

Another art, in some respect more closely connected with Rājput painting, is that of embroidery as practised in the hills. I refer especially to the embroidered scarves and handkerchiefs (*rumals*), in silk on cotton, formerly made in Chamba and Kāŋgṛā. These reproduce exactly the subjects and mannerisms of Kāŋgṛā paintings, and in some cases the pictorial matter of the needlework is accompanied by appropriate texts in stitchery. Vaiṣṇava themes predominate, but some examples



Figure 8. Śrī Krishna Baṃsīdhara. From a lithographed edition of the *Khat Ritu Prakās* of Sardār, printed at Benares, A. D. 1864.



Figure 9. The Well of Love. Lithograph illustration from the title page of the *Dilbahalāval Hindikā* (n. d., but late 19th century). The subject is perhaps 'Fair maids, who haunt the well of Love' (Vidyāpati); and cf. Kabīr, 'There Love is filling her pitcher from the well'.

Lithograph Book-illustrations following Rājput tradition.


A


B


C


D

FIGURE 10. The Spring Festival (Holi). Paper stencils (*sāñjhā*), Mathurā, 20th century. *A, B.* Krishna and Rādhā. *C, D.* Another *gopa* and *gopī*. (About ⅓ original size.)



FIGURE 11. Paper stencils from Mathurā, 20th century, reduced.

FIGURE 12. Nāgarī script. Extract from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, from the reverse of the painting of the School of Jammu reproduced on Plate XXII.

are of geometrical design, and resemble samplers. The work is executed in satin stitch, and follows a brush outline drawn on the cotton surface, just as the painting follows the drawing on paper.[1]

Kāshmīr embroidery is of a different type. In Jaipur, however, will be found a school of chain-stitch silk embroidery on cotton, best exemplified in the *gaddis* or shield cushions, which protect the knuckles from the interior of the shield. There is a very fine collection of these in the Mahārājā's armoury at Jaipur. The subject-matter of the embroidery is mainly Hindū. Very similar in technique to this art, again, though not having the ground completely filled, is that of the silk-embroidered cotton floor-coverings, which are occasionally met with in Jaipur, and are frequently represented in Kāŋgṛā paintings, chiefly in portraiture. All the embroidery here referred to is in one way or another closely related to Rājput painting, but especially so in the case of the Pahāṛī *rumals*.[1]

Crafts that fully and properly belong to Rājput painting are the decoration of playing-cards, and that of the lacquered shields of Bīkāner. Examples of the former are given on Plate LXXVII, A and B.

The nearest actual parallel to Rājput painting, which perhaps we ought to regard only as a special sectarian phase, is seen in the decoration of Jaina books.[2]

Mediaeval sculpture comparable with Rājput paintings can here be only glanced at. Speaking generally, the two arts are not very closely connected, and the sculpture is inferior to the painting. This is partly explicable by the fact that in sculpture the old Brāhmanical types predominate, representing, just as in contemporary Jaina and Sinhalese Buddhist art, the continuation of an old tradition without fresh inspiration. In Nepal, however—the 'Central Pahāṛī' area immediately East of Garhwāl—a vigorous imager's tradition in cast and beaten copper gilt has survived almost to the present day. Most likely, when more material is available, it will be possible to trace a continous development in Nepalese art, beginning with the early types of about the 9th century, which show well-marked Gupta characteristics, passing with change, but comparatively little loss, through the more abundant work of about the 10th century, to the careless productions of the present. This history will afford some parallels to Rājput painting.

Nepalese art, or the same art on the borders of India proper, is partly Vaiṣṇava. Thus my own collection includes not only an early Vishnu of the *śāstrīya* type, in the style of the Avalokiteśvara of *Viśvakarmā* (Plates XI, XII), but also a later, perhaps 16th century, beaten copper-gilt relief of Krishna with Rādhā (Plate LXXVII, C), extremely like a Rājput painting. Krishna wears the typical pointed crown, the points lotus-tipped, and he carries a tasselled flute and wears a garland of flowers; but he is four-armed and attended by Garuḍa, features which do not appear in Rājput drawings.

The Vaiṣṇava brasses of Hindustān rarely exhibit a similar vitality; but some of Bāla-Krishna, a crawling child with a pat of butter, are meritorious. Certain early figures of Krishna with the flute (Plate LXXVII, C), attended by *gopīs* and cows, however, exhibit real feeling, and seem to belong as much to the neo-Rājput as to the old *śāstrīya* traditions.

For stone images, Jaipur is still the great centre of production for all Northern India, supplying impartially all sects. But the tradition is of little immediate vitality, and the Krishna figures are insipid.

Thus there is some evidence to show that a school of sculpture related to Rājput painting, and inspired by the same movements of thought, has existed: but the number of good paintings, so far as known at present, greatly exceeds the number of good brasses.

We have not yet spoken of architecture, which is of some importance for our study, not only because the white walls of Rājput buildings have been constantly painted, but because the buildings themselves have been very faithfully depicted in many of the smaller drawings. It cannot be too clearly emphasized that the characteristic civil architecture of Hindustān is essentially old Hindū and Rājput. The arguments for this have been so fully set out by Mr. E. B. Havell (*Indian Architecture*, 1913) that they need no recapitulation here. It suffices to point out that this architecture under Rājput patronage attained a splendour that has never been surpassed in the history of forts and palaces.

[1] See my *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, Fig. 149; and Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 379 and Plate 48, 6.

[2] *Notes on Jaina Art*, 'Journal of Indian Art', no. 127.

Moreover, just as in the case of Mughal painting, so in that of architecture as it is seen at Fathpur Sīkrī, and only less conspicuously in Āgra, Hindū elements predominate. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say with Mr. Havell that the buildings of Fathpur Sīkrī 'belong almost exclusively to the Buddhist-Hindu tradition'. The same architecture remains a living art in the hands of masons descended from those who built for Rājputs or Mughals, in accordance with demand.

This Rājput architecture is represented in the paintings, and indeed, by reference to the Mughal time-scale, often affords an important clue to date. Thus it is easy to distinguish the 16th and early 17th century work in the manner of Gwaliar and Orchā, from the more feminine building represented in the later drawings of Kāŋgṛā.

Remains of early Rājput palaces are very few, for so many capitals have been destroyed by invading armies or in the course of internal wars; and in times of peace each successive ruler altered his predecessor's work and made additions. But Gwaliar, Amber, Datiya, Orchā, Jodhpur, and Udaipur, and even the 19th century palaces along the Ganges bank at Benares remain to rank with anything that Mediaeval Europe has to show in the same kind. These buildings prove what strength of body and mind inspired the rulers of Rājasthān. But it may be doubted whether any plastered surface older than the 17th century remains intact, and for this reason no mural paintings now exist older than those in the old palace at Bīkāner.

We ought not to omit referring to another art in which the Rājput clans excelled, the art of costume. A whole work could be written on this subject, and admirably illustrated from the contemporary paintings. The Rājput costume, especially in the case of women, was very widely adopted in Mughal circles, in the time of Akbar, and we observe a gradual reduction of the Persian forms as Mughal art proceeds. After the 16th century it is very rare to see the typical Bokhara turban with both ends hanging free, or the peaked cap of the Afghans; and the Persian coat fastening down the middle is replaced by the looser coat which fastens at one side, like the gown of a Chinese mandarin. In early Mughal times this garment, whatever may be its source, was worn alike by Rājputs and Mughals; and with the small double turban which accompanies it, it is still occasionally worn by old-fashioned Brāhmans in the hills. I have little doubt that these coats and turbans, as well as the coloured trousers which are so characteristic in, for example, my series of 'twenty-three *rāgiṇīs*', and which are worn also by women of the Pañjāb alternatively to the skirt, were in common use before the 16th century.

CHAPTER II

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

THUS Rājput Painting does not stand alone. It is but one of many aspects of the mediaeval Hindū renaissance: it is an immediate expression of Hindū life as it survived and continued little affected by the contingent Mughal courts. Life and art formed a single unity. Architecture and painting, poetry, music and dancing were all created by one and the same people, to satisfy their own taste, and to express their own ideas. The time had not yet come when a wealthy Indian found it needful to hang a Royal Academy picture on the walls of a Clapham villa to prove himself an educated man. India was not yet governed by movable officials, ignorant, if not contemptuous of all that most engages the hearts and minds of the people. Rājput princes were men of cultivation. Their letters (says Tod) 'exhibit abundant testimony of their powers of mind: they are sprinkled with classical allusions, and evince that knowledge of mankind which constant collision in society must produce. . . . When they talk of the wisdom of their ancestors, it is not a mere figure of speech. The instruction of their princes is laid down in rules held sacred, and must have been far more onerous than any system of European university education, for scarcely a branch of human knowledge is omitted.' So much could rarely be said of the modern prince, and hardly ever of the foreign official who in British India inherits the position of a prince, without respecting its obligations. However efficient a modern Government may become, whether in British India or in Native States—between these, from our standpoint, there is little to choose—it must remain, with modern ideals and modern education, a class government of cultivated peasants by uncultivated kings.

No bureaucracy can patronize art, because a bureaucracy cannot feel enthusiasm. The patronage of art is possible, not when museums are established, but when the rulers and the ruled are both of one mind. It was an ideal of Indian kingship that the king should be 'one with the religion and the people',[1] and it has been laid down that kings who acquire new territory 'should follow the people in their faith with which they celebrate their national, religious, and congregational festivals and amusements'.[2] Ideals such as this go far to explain the impressive unity of such an art as that of Rājasthān.

The founding of at least one national Museum of Indian Art is one of the greatest needs of the present moment, for modern India has already forgotten the past, and opportunities are passing quickly, of which European and American collectors are not slow to avail themselves. The greater part of a magnificent collection of Jaipur enamels which the Nizām of Haidarābād (a multi-millionaire) disposed of lately at half their real value, to be exchanged for the latest manufactures of Birmingham and Bond Street, was secured by the agents of American Museums. M. Goloubew's collection of Indian paintings has gone to the same country. The existing Indian Museums have been made by men better acquainted with the culture of the hill tribes than with the culture of an old Rājput court. When we consider that much the same is true of Indian collections in England, and that the history of art has not a single chair in any Indian University, it is not surprising that modern Indians refuse to believe that such a thing as Indian art has ever existed.

But however ardently I wish that justice should be done to masters of craft who are nameless, dead and gone, we ought to remember that the widest knowledge of a former or another art is not the least guarantee of present power; the final proof of artistic sensibility is not to be found

[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. xix.

[2] *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Bk. XIII, ch. v ('Indian Antiquary', 1910, p. 164).

in museums or in books, but in the nature of the demand we make on living men, and the opportunities we allow them of response.

Doubtless it is true that art is essentially the proof of a religious inspiration, the outward sign of inward and spiritual grace, and no one knows when the Indian consciousness may be fired afresh. But this will not arise from the importation of Western academic art or academic belief. I cannot imagine any serious revival of Indian creative power within the present century, though the earliest roots of such a development may be struck already. India must needs suffer, and perhaps needs to endure an Industrial age and an age of criticism, before she can expect to recover, as Europe is beginning to recover, her power of choice.

When India gave the world a great art, her people were essentially of one mind, and the same art flourished everywhere, little dependent upon individual genius, while affording opportunity to every power. That 'one mind' found expression just as surely in a printed cotton or a brazen bowl, as in any painting or gilded image; it was more than one or ten men deep, and had its roots far back in racial experience. The future of Indian art will not depend upon the excellent taste of any group of artists in our day, but upon our attitude to life. We cannot leave it to a single group of even the wisest and most accomplished artists, or most sincere critics, to achieve the task of a whole race; artists or not, all are individually and collectively responsible.

The problem is not merely Indian. For the modern world can never again move forward or fall back in parts. Whatever is achieved, whatever lost, must be achieved or lost, in the main, by all humanity, rather than by any nation as a nation. For a wave of thought that once required centuries to cross a continent, now circles the world within a decade, sometimes within a year. No race can live unto itself in an age of swift and easy intercourse. The future of art in India depends upon Europe and America as much as upon India, and the future of art in Europe and America depends upon India, for East and West together are co-responsible for the post-Industrial age. The possibility of a renewed Indian inspiration will be created first when India begins to realize that Europe and America are faced with spiritual problems which she must also face, and to understand that the future of humanity is in the making here and now. There has never been propounded a more vicious lie than the statement 'East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet'. It is much more certain (slightly adapting the admirable words of Mr. E. B. Havell) 'that East met West very long ago in the fellowship of art, and when a great religious impulse comes again in Europe and in Asia the meeting ground will be the same'.[1]

When on the one hand an age of criticism and research shall have made her mistress of herself, and on the other, she knows that she is called upon to act, for humanity,—because if she is not with Europe in the future she must be against her,—then India may be able once again to identify religion and life, and of this unity create the flower of art.

[1] *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, 1914, p. 76. Cf. also Lethaby, *Mediaeval Art*, 1904, p. 7.



